
00035630

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018

NEW JAPAN,

THE

LAND OF THE RISING SUN;

ITS ANNALS DURING THE PAST TWENTY YEARS,

RECORDING THE REMARKABLE PROGRESS OF THE JAPANESE IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION.

By SAMUEL MOSSMAN,

AUTHOR OF 'CHINA; ITS HISTORY, INSTITUTIONS, AND INHABITANTS,'
'OUR AUSTRALIAN COLONIES,'
ETC. ETC. ETC.

B. 2488.

35630

ac

TT-K.4

WITH MAP.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1873.

The right of Translation is reserved.

God
Q 5 2.
Mos /)!F W)
35630

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS,
STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.



CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

1853.

PAGE

General Aspect of Japan Twenty Years Ago—Isolation of the Country and People—Dutch Factory at De-sima—Commodore Perry's Expedition from America amicably received 1

CHAPTER II.

1854.

Commodore Perry renews friendly Negotiations with Authorities—First Treaty concluded with America at Kanagawa—Interchange of Presents—Ports of Simoda and Hakodadi opened 18

CHAPTER III.

1855.

Admiral Poutiatine, Envoy from Russia, arrives—Destruction of Simoda by an Earthquake—Wreck of the Frigate 'Diana'—Russian Treaty concluded 42

CHAPTER IV.

1856–57.

Attempt of Dutch Envoy to extend old Treaty of Nagasaki unsuccessful—Japanese Hatred of French and Portuguese 61

CHAPTER V.

1858.

Great Britain and France conclude Treaties opening the Ports of Kanagawa, Nagasaki, Hakodadi, Hiogo, Osaka and Nee-e-gata—Death of the "Tycoon," or Siogoon 72

CHAPTER VI.

PAGE

ANNALS OF MEDIÆVAL ENGLAND AND JAPAN SIMILAR — COMPLICATED IMPERIAL AND FEUDAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT UP TO THE PERIOD OF NEGOTIATING TREATIES WITH FOREIGN POWERS 88

CHAPTER VII.

1859.

MR. ALCOCK, H.M.'s MINISTER FOR JAPAN, ARRIVES — BRITISH AND AMERICAN LEGATIONS ESTABLISHED AT YEDO — CONSULATES AT KANAGAWA — FOREIGN RESIDENTS AT YOKOHAMA — ASSASSINATION OF THREE RUSSIANS 98

CHAPTER VIII.

1860.

ASSASSINATION OF A LINGUIST AT THE BRITISH LEGATION — DUTCH AND PRUSSIAN TREATIES SIGNED AT YEDO — GOTAIRO OR SIOGOON-REGENT, ASSASSINATED — BRITISH MINISTER HAS AN AUDIENCE OF THE SIOGOON . 113

CHAPTER IX.

1861.

ASSASSINATION OF THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF LEGATION — FOUR ENVOYS STRIKE THEIR FLAGS — ATTEMPTED MASSACRE OF THE BRITISH LEGATION 125

CHAPTER X.

1862.

JAPANESE DIPLOMATIC MISSION SENT TO EUROPE — ANOTHER MURDEROUS ATTACK ON THE BRITISH LEGATION — ASSASSINATION OF MR. RICHARDSON — EXODUS OF DAIMIOS AND RETAINERS FROM YEDO 139

CHAPTER XI.

1863.

DECREE TO EXPEL FOREIGNERS — NEW BRITISH LEGATION BUILDINGS AT YEDO BLOWN UP — AMERICAN LEGATION DESTROYED BY FIRE — ARRIVAL OF BRITISH SQUADRON IN YEDO BAY — INDEMNITY FOR OUTRAGES PAID . 156

CHAPTER XII.

1863 (*continued*).

AMERICAN, FRENCH, AND DUTCH SHIPS FIRED ON FROM BATTERIES AT WEST ENTRANCE TO INLAND SEA — THESE INSULTS AVENGED — BOMBARDMENT OF KAGOSIMA — SATSUMA SUCCUMBS — ASSASSINATION OF A FRENCH OFFICER 172

CHAPTER XIII.

1864.

PAGE

RETROGRADE POLICY OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT — BOMBARDMENT AND CAPTURE OF THE NAGATO FORTS, AT SIMANOSAKI, BY THE ALLIED SQUADRONS 186

CHAPTER XIV.

1864 (*continued*).

CHOSIU OF NAGATO SUCCUMBS, AND GOVERNMENT TO PAY AN INDEMNITY — NAGATO TROOPS ATTACK THE MIKADO'S PALACE AT KIOTO — PROGRESS OF OPEN PORTS 199

CHAPTER XV.

1865.

CONTENTION BETWEEN TWO FEUDAL FACTIONS FOR SUPREMACY IN THE STATE — THE SIOGOON LEAVES YEDO TO VISIT THE MIKADO AT THE OLD METROPOLIS OF KIOTO 211

CHAPTER XVI.

1865 (*continued*).

SIR HARRY PARKES INSTRUCTED BY EARL RUSSELL ON BRITISH POLICY IN JAPAN — ALLIED ENVOYS AT OSAKA BAY RECEIVE CONSENT OF MIKADO TO THE TREATIES 223

CHAPTER XVII.

1866.

CONTENDING FACTIONS ARMING WITH FOREIGN WAR MATÉRIEL — ENGAGEMENT AND VICTORY OF NAGATO FORCES — SATSUMA ENTERTAINS THE BRITISH MINISTER 239

CHAPTER XVIII.

1866 (*continued*).

DEATH OF THE SIOGOON IYEMOCHI AND ELECTION OF STOTS-BASHI (YOSHI HISA) — NAGATO FORCES INVADE BUZEN AND HOLD IT — ARMISTICE — FIRE AT YOKOHAMA — PROGRESS OF PORTS 257

CHAPTER XIX.

1867.

THE NEW SIOGOON INSTALLED — DEMISE OF THE MIKADO OSA-H'TO — SUCCEEDED BY HIS SON MUT-SH'TO — RECEPTION OF ENVOYS BY THE SIOGOON AT OSAKA 275

CHAPTER XX.

1867 (*continued*).

PAGE

COMBINATION OF DAIMIOS TO OVERTHROW THE SIOGOON — HE RESIGNS NOMINALLY TO THE MIKADO — COMMERCE AT THE PORTS — LARGE FLEET OF STEAMERS SOLD 288

CHAPTER XXI.

1868.

RETROSPECT — STATE REVOLUTION — CIVIL WAR BEGUN — DECISIVE BATTLE OF FUSHIMI — DEFEAT AND FLIGHT OF THE EX-SIOGOON — ATTACK ON FOREIGNERS AT KOBE-HIOGO NEW SETTLEMENT 303

CHAPTER XXII.

1868 (*continued*).

MASSACRE OF FRENCH SEAMEN NEAR OSAKA — YOSHI HISA ABANDONS THE STRUGGLE, WHILE THE NORTHERN DAIMIOS CONTINUE IT UNDER IDZU WITH SUCCESS — DESPERATE CONFLICT AT YEDO . . . . . 31[illegible]

CHAPTER XXIII.

1868 (*continued*).

MIKADO NOW SOLE MONARCH OF JAPAN — AUDIENCES TO TREATY ENVOYS — NEW MINISTRY — STATUS OF "VULGAR" PEOPLE — INSURGENTS DEFEATED — MIKADO ENTERS YEDO IN STATE 328

CHAPTER XXIV.

1868 (*concluded*).

TREATY POWERS NEUTRAL — DIFFICULTIES OF NEW GOVERNMENT — PROGRESS AND STATISTICS OF YOKOHAMA, NAGASAKI, HIOGO, AND OSAKI — —HAKODADI CAPTURED BY THE INSURGENTS 345

CHAPTER XXV.

1869.

CIVIL WAR ENDED — MIKADO GIVES AUDIENCE TO ENVOYS OF TREATY POWERS — POLICY OF CENTRALIZATION FORMED BY NEW GOVERNMENT — DIFFICULTIES OF THE SITUATION 366

CHAPTER XXVI.

1870.

THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT AND LEGISLATURE PURSUE ACTIVELY THEIR WORK OF REFORM — COUNTRY IN A TRANSITION STATE — TRADE AT TREATY PORTS DULL 387

CHAPTER XXVII.

1871.

PAGE

FEUDAL TERRITORIES CHANGED INTO IMPERIAL DOMAINS — DAIMIOS MADE GOVERNORS — RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GOVERNMENT, CIVIL SERVICE, AND ARMY — MINT OPENED 404

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1872.

EMBASSY FROM THE MIKADO TO THE TREATY POWERS IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA — RECEPTION BY PRESIDENT GRANT AT WASHINGTON — HER MAJESTY, QUEEN VICTORIA, RECEIVES THE AMBASSADORS IN AUDIENCE AT WINDSOR CASTLE 427

CHAPTER XXIX.

1872 (*continued*).

EXTRAORDINARY PROGRESS IN JAPAN DURING THE YEAR — THE MIKADO VISITS THE ARSENAL, LIGHTHOUSES, MINT, AND TREATY PORTS — SATISFACTORY RETURNS OF FOREIGN TRADE 445

CHAPTER XXX.

1873.

EUROPEAN CALENDAR SUBSTITUTED FOR JAPANESE ONE — SUMPTUARY DECREES — REMOVAL OF NOTICES PROSCRIBING CHRISTIANITY — FINANCE — RETRENCHMENT — EMPRESS RECEIVES LADIES — TREATY WITH CHINA — EMBASSY RETURNS FROM EUROPE — CONCLUSION 461

TO THE BINDER.

The Map of Japan to be placed *at the end*.

NEW JAPAN.

CHAPTER I.

1853.

GENERAL ASPECT OF JAPAN TWENTY YEARS AGO — ISOLATION OF THE COUNTRY AND PEOPLE — DUTCH FACTORY AT DE-SIMA — COMMODORE PERRY'S EXPEDITION FROM AMERICA AMICABLY RECEIVED.

§ 1. The land of the rising sun. § 2. Accounts of its early history unreliable. § 3. Recent events form authentic records throwing light upon its past history. § 4. General aspect of the Country and People twenty years ago. § 5. Supposititious case of the British being isolated as the Japanese were. § 6. Exclusion of Japan for upwards of two centuries. § 7. The Dutch factory at Nagasaki. § 8. The Chinese factory at Nagasaki. § 9. The question of opening-up Japan discussed. § 10. America fits out a naval diplomatic expedition to Japan. § 11. Departure of Commodore Perry, and arrival in Yedo Gulf. § 12. The squadron anchors off the town of Uraga. § 13. Interview with a local official. § 14. Preparations to resist any hostile attack. § 15. Boat party reconnoitre and survey part of Yedo Gulf and Bay. § 16. Preliminary negotiations amicably arranged. § 17. Reception of Commodore Perry by a Japanese envoy. § 18. Purport of the President's letter to the Emperor.

§ 1. "*The land of the rising sun.*"—Such is the poetic designation which the Japanese give to their romantic group of islands in the far East; and as they are a people with a strong element of hereditary aristocracy in the body politic, having an ancient system of heraldry, their national flag represents the orb of day emerging from the sea. This title and emblem are significant of the geographical position of Japan, and the essentially maritime avocations of the people. Looking towards the east, and venturing on the broad bosom of the Pacific Ocean, the ancient Japanese navigators saw nothing beyond but an expanse of sea which seemed boundless, and out of which they observed the sun rising daily on their voyages, without revealing the limits of the ocean boundary. It was natural, therefore, that the founders of this maritime nation should consider their land

the eastern *ultima thule* of the earth. It is many thousand miles across that wide ocean, before the mariner sees the land of Columbia looming on the horizon. Yet there is evidence to show that some of the early Japanese navigators, driven by the terrible typhoons that sweep over their waters, had entered the great North Pacific drift current flowing to the east—as observed by Krusentern and Kotzebue—and reached the coasts of California and Mexico. They could not return again to their native land against the current, so those involuntary explorers were in all probability the founders of the Mexican dynasties, of which the famous Montezuma was among the last monarchs. When Cortes arrived in Mexico he was received by the king and his sages as one whom they expected from the land of their ancestors in the *far distant west*. Hence it may be said that the Japanese were the first discoverers and founders of America. Even at this day the remnants of the aboriginal races of California and Mexico have been recognized by intelligent natives from Japan, as descendants of their ancestors whose boats had been carried by currents or driven by tempest from their native shores. This is an interesting subject for inquiry, but it is beyond the legitimate scope of this sketch of its recent history. At the same time it shows that from an early age the Japanese islanders were among the first explorers and colonizers of the North American continent, across the Pacific, as the British have been foremost among the colonizing nations across the Atlantic.

§ 2. *Accounts of its early history unreliable.*—Notwithstanding the numerous historical and descriptive accounts of Japan and the Japanese, which have appeared from time to time, a comprehensive and authentic history of the country, its people and institutions, has yet to be written in a European language. For this to be undertaken by a foreigner, competent to do it justice, he must not only be a Japanese but a Chinese linguist, and have access to the national archives, written chiefly in the latter character. Indeed, it is averred by those best able to judge, that this is a task impossible for foreigners to accomplish, at least unaided by native students of history, so that when such a work does appear, it will most probably be from the joint labours of both. Hitherto the information gleaned from native sources concerning its history has been for the most part mythical, meagre, and unreliable. Some writers accuse even the officials, with whom they have come in contact, of direct

falsehood in answering inquiries concerning their system of government and the nature of their political institutions. These accusations we do not wholly endorse. Whatever charges may be brought against them in the way of tergiversation, savour more of omission than commission. As Sir Rutherford Alcock puts it: "The incorrigible tendency of the Japanese to withhold from foreigners, or to disguise, the truth on all matters great and small, and consequently the absence of reliable elucidation of their character, institutions, systems of government," constitutes a great obstacle in getting at the facts. From this and what others have observed, it is abundantly evident that they are, like most Asiatic races, naturally of a secret and suspicious disposition. Hence their undue reticence towards foreigners inquiring, or prying into the past history of their country, its present condition, and the future policy of the Government; as straightforward replies might divulge matters that would compromise the safety and welfare of the realm.

§ 3. *Recent events form authentic records throwing light upon past history.*—Meanwhile events have transpired in Japan, of which we have a fair amount of authentic data, to furnish a record of its recent history that it is desirable should appear in a collected form, such as will be found in this unpretending volume. The Author lays no claim to the high functions of a historian, but he will endeavour to place before the reader a clear and succinct narrative of the most important occurrences in its recent annals, culled from the best authorities, that it may not only elucidate its present condition, but throw light upon its past history. Twenty years ago (1853), Japan was almost a *terra incognita* to foreigners, and its Government one of the most exclusive among the exclusive nations of the far East, in forbidding intruders, at the point of the sword, from holding intercourse with the people. Now all this is changed. The country and its resources are being rapidly opened up, and treaties of amity and commerce have been concluded with the leading Foreign Powers. But what is more important still, the Government are reforming the whole body politic of the realm, after the model of European civilization; while it is discarding many of its most ancient social, political, and religious institutions, which have ruled the national destinies from time immemorial. An unvarnished record of the events which developed this extraordinary transformation, chronicles a chap-

ter in the history of the world, unexampled in ancient or modern times. In the following summary of these annals, it will be seen that this marvellous revolution and progress has been the result of the vigorous action maintained by the representatives of Treaty Powers, whose policy it was to break down these barriers of exclusiveness and open up the country to universal civilization for the benefit of the Japanese as well as themselves. It is with pride that we find the British representatives among the foremost in this work; while those of the United States of America were the first to initiate the line of policy it indicates.

§ 4. *General aspect of the country and people twenty years ago.* —At the period referred to, the Japanese realm might be appropriately described as a vast royal domain, encircled by the natural walls of an iron-bound coast, lashed by the waves of the Pacific Ocean. Within this boundary and on the adjacent waters, the inhabitants were nearly independent of extraneous supplies of life's necessaries or luxuries; and stringent laws were in force prohibiting them from having any commerce with foreigners, without the sanction of the authorities. The rulers of the realm held despotic sway over the people; while the wealthy nobles disported themselves on their estates, revelling on the princely incomes they derived from the industry of a semi-enslaved peasantry. Jealous of "outside barbarians," the Government refused all intercourse with Foreign Powers, excepting the representative of one petty European state; who accepted the privilege under humiliating conditions, and within circumscribed limits, which they had monopolized for upwards of two centuries. During that period the representatives of other Western nations in vain attempted to open up friendly intercourse with the authorities, or gain access to the interior of the country. Although something was known about the people and their rulers, yet it was of a limited character, and that chiefly relating to their condition in olden times. On the whole, Japan and the Japanese at that time were enveloped in mystery. The most extravagant tales were told by imaginative travellers of the splendour of the Imperial Court, and the boundless wealth of the nobility, which actual observation has proved to be gross exaggeration. Nevertheless these travellers' tales served to excite the curiosity, not to say the cupidity, of foreign traders and adventurers, as well as

governments, to share in the riches of this undeveloped field of commerce. Hence it was mooted among statesmen and diplomatists in Europe and America that the time had arrived when it was necessary to take the initiative in sharing in the traffic hitherto monopolized by the Dutch.

§ 5. *Supposititious case of the British being isolated as the Japanese were.*—In order to realize the exclusion of foreigners from Japan, and its isolation from the civilized world twenty years ago, let us suppose a similar state of affairs to exist in the British Isles; which approximate remarkably to the Japanese group, in numbers, area, and population. Imagine the numerous commodious harbours and anchorages that indent the shores of Great Britain and the lesser adjacent islands, being closed against all foreign vessels, and traders of every nationality excluded from their ports; so that London, Liverpool, Glasgow, and other great shipping marts of commerce were restricted to a coasting trade with small craft, few exceeding a hundred tons burthen. Suppose Ireland to be restricted in the same manner, with the exception of Cork harbour, where two foreign ships only were allowed annually, at an interval of six months between each, to enter that port, for trading purposes. Let us imagine, if we can, that the Sovereign and Government of the United Kingdom ruled the people with despotic sway under a sanguinary code of laws; and that the Japanese were a free and independent people governed by a Constitutional Monarchy and engaged in foreign trade all over the world. Then suppose that they had a trading company, sanctioned by their Government, who were the owners of these vessels, and entitled by treaty to monopolize this limited commerce, under conditions so degrading and humiliating that the traders of no other nationality would accept them: that on coming to an anchor the ship, cargo, and crew, were put into the hands of the authorities to be at their disposal; that the company's managers, clerks, and warehouses were confined to a small islet in the harbour, and that only the head men were allowed to travel as far as London, once in three years, accompanied by an armed escort, with costly presents to the Sovereign, by way of tribute, in payment for the privileges granted to trade with the people.

§ 6. *Exclusion of Japan for upwards of two centuries.*—This imaginary isolation of our own country from the comity of

nations, and the limitation of its foreign commerce to a few traders from Japan, however impossible it may seem to us, who live in the freest, greatest maritime nation on the earth, its ports open to all traders without restriction, nevertheless was precisely the condition of the Japanese realm, and its relations with the Netherlands Trading Company at the beginning of 1853—from which date these annals commence. A competent writer in the 'Asiatic Journal,' shortly before that time, briefly sums up its anomalous condition as follows: "Japan has for two centuries, since the simultaneous expulsion of Christianity and the Portuguese, A.D. 1640, been hermetically closed against foreigners of all climes, Asiatics as well as Europeans, with the exception of one Chinese, and one Dutch factory, both established, and in fact imprisoned in one seaport town; and of these exceptions, the limited number of the Dutch factory, of which alone we know anything, have been gradually reduced, whilst their visits to the capital have been in like manner restricted. During this long period no intelligence respecting this insular empire has been attainable, save when some scientific physician, visiting the Dutch factory as its allowed medical attendant, gleaned such scanty facts as his Japanese acquaintance ventured to impart, in violation of their solemn obligation to reveal nothing, which stimulated rather than appeased the appetite of those Europeans who desired to be acquainted with a country so remarkable for the originality of its political institutions, the peculiar character of its people, and a form of civilization neither European nor Asiatic, and apparently altogether indigenous."

§ 7. *The Dutch factory at Nagasaki.*—In our imaginary sketch of a Japanese trading station at Cork, as analogous to the Dutch factory at Nagasaki, we have hit upon a remarkable geographical similitude. The ports are both situated on the secondary islands of each group, about the same distance from their capitals, and the finest harbours on their coasts; while the latter will bear away the palm from the former, not only for its superior advantages as a port for ships of the largest tonnage, but the picturesque scenery on its shores. But these advantages of trade and pleasure were sparingly enjoyed by the few Netherlanders resident at, or visiting the port. When the Japanese Government began to entertain jealousy and dislike

of foreigners, the first measure taken, at the instigation of those feelings, was so to situate them that they could be conveniently watched. For this purpose the Europeans and their commerce were restricted to the ports of Nagasaki and Hirado, about sixty miles apart; the former being open to the Portuguese, and the latter to the Hollanders, where for a short time both enjoyed comparative freedom in their intercourse with the authorities and the people. In consequence of the effects of religious propagandism by the Portuguese Jesuits among the converts, tending to usurp political authority, it was necessary to confine their residence and operations to the smallest possible compass. With this view a novel site was projected for the factory, so that it could be completely shut off at any time from the mainland, and an artificial islet was directed to be built close to the shore in front of the town of Nagasaki. The Emperor's pleasure being asked as to the form of the future island, he unfolded the ever-active fan; and, accordingly, in the shape of a fan was the islet constructed. The name given to it was "De-sima," signifying "Fore Island," from *de*, "fore" or "ante," and *sima*, the common Japanese name for island. When the Portuguese were finally expelled from Japan, the Dutch were transferred from Hirado to Nagasaki, and ordered to take up their abode henceforth on this islet, where they remained for upwards of two centuries, more like prisoners than freemen, under the surveillance of the authorities. However, they were allowed to build dwelling-houses and warehouses after their own designs (but no stone to be used), and furnish them in the European manner. This fanciful piece of ground, reclaimed from the sea, was about 600 ft. in length, by 200 ft. across, and only a few yards from the shore. The island and town were connected by a stone bridge; but a high wall, on the top of which were placed iron spikes, prevented the dwellers in either from seeing those in the other. The view of the bay, teeming with life and bustle, was indeed open to the residents in the factory, secluded as they were; but the prospect was only a distant one, no Japanese boat being permitted to approach the island within a certain prescribed distance, marked out by rows of stakes. Two water-gates, on the north side of the island, were opened to let in the Dutch ships when they arrived, and were at all times kept shut save at the egress and ingress of these vessels. The bridge was closed by a strong gate, where a guard-house

stood constantly occupied by a body of police and soldiers, who alike prevented the Dutch from leaving the factory without permission, and the entrance of Japanese visitors, except the privileged officials and others appointed as servants and workmen, and only then at stated hours,—every one passing in or out, foreigner or native, being searched by the guard. The native servants were obliged to leave the factory at sunset, and not allowed to enter in the morning until sunrise. An exception was made to this rule in the case of a few women of loose character from the lowest class, who were permitted to have intercourse with the factory men and seamen; but a public proclamation, in the plainest and coarsest terms, announced that no respectable female could set foot upon the island. There were many other stringent rules and regulations, confining the operations of the Netherlands Trading Company and the movements of their officers at the factory, of even a more humiliating character, which we refrain from particularizing, as these are not necessary for the elucidation of our subject. What has been given is from the most reliable authorities, and will serve to furnish the reader with some idea of the thoroughly exclusive policy of the Japanese Government towards all foreigners, before the advent of their new foreign relations, which now commands our attention.

§ 8. *The Chinese factory at Nagasaki.*—We add here a few particulars concerning the Chinese factory at Nagasaki. It was situated in the town, within a walled enclosure, entered by gates, but there were no restrictions to the ingress or egress of the inmates by day or night. There were about seventy-five dwelling-houses and the same number of warehouses, chiefly built of bamboo, and divided by narrow streets into twelve blocks of buildings. This quarter was named *Ta jin yasiki*, or the premises of the Chinese. The usual number of residents was about one hundred, who all resided within the walls of their enclosure, but these were increased by the crews of seven trading junks, each of which made two voyages annually. These imported medicines, woollen and cotton fabrics, and other articles of Chinese or foreign manufacture, and exported lacquered ware, copper, *beche-de-mer*, and other produce. The Chinese were allowed much more liberty than the Dutch, being able to walk through the streets of the town at their own convenience, and to carry on their small trade with the in-

habitants unmolested. They were, however, under the control of four headmen among their number, who were responsible to the authorities for their good behaviour, and who superintended the discharging and loading of the junks at their arrival and departure. Special customs duties were imposed on the Chinese trade, like those levied on the Dutch, both of which were royal perquisites. Interpreters, custom-house officers, door-keepers, and others, were similarly appointed by the Governor of Nagasaki to the Chinese factory, as they were to that of the Dutch, but there was not the same surveillance exercised by these officials over the everyday movements of residents and visitors, while the headmen were not obliged to carry tribute to the rulers at Yedo. However, their exclusion from all other ports was as rigid as against Western foreigners; showing in unmistakable terms that the policy of the Government was Japan for the Japanese—"one and indivisible."

§ 9. *The question of opening-up Japan discussed.*—The unsatisfactory position of Japan, and its relations with a petty European state, to the exclusion of all the great Western Powers, was frequently the subject of discussion among statesmen, diplomatists, and naval commanders, who had surveyed portions of the Japanese coasts. The question was how to open up legitimate intercourse with the Government according to international law and usage. They knew not much about the internal regulations of the country; they knew, however, that it had for centuries isolated itself, as it were, from the world, and persisted in excluding foreigners from intercourse; that but one European nation was allowed to approach for purposes of trade, and that repeated efforts made by others for a similar privilege had uniformly failed of success. But they knew, too, that it possessed valuable productions, and ought to be brought into communication with the rest of the world. By some, indeed, the proposition was boldly avowed that Japan had no right thus to cut herself off from the community of nations, and that what she would not yield to national comity should be wrested from her by force.* Great Britain and France were very chary in initiating a practical solution of the question, as they were at that time involved in the intricacies of the still greater problem of the same nature

* 'Commodore Perry's Expedition to Japan,' by Dr. Hawks.

in China, which culminated in a costly and sanguinary war. Russia was less chary, and showed her usual aggressive policy by deliberately annexing some portions of the northern isles of the Japanese group, contiguous to her recent acquisitions in the Amoor territory. It was conjectured that this was a step on the way to acquire by force of arms from a state, impotent in modern warfare, further possessions, if not to subjugate the Japanese Islands. Such a prospect roused the suspicions of the American Government, who resolved to forestall the act by despatching a naval expedition to Japan.

§ 10. *America fits out a naval expedition to Japan.*—The United States Government, considering the wealth and importance of California, and that its seaboard on the Pacific was in the same latitudes as the Japanese Islands, concluded that they were more nearly interested in their development than any European nation. As they deemed it politic that this should be done by legitimate means, they resolved to despatch a naval expedition thither, under the command of an able officer, empowered to conclude a treaty of amity and commerce between the "Japanese Emperor" and the President of the Republic. Accordingly, they appointed Commodore M. C. Perry to the post, as not only the most capable officer in the navy, but because the mission was resolved on chiefly at his earnest recommendation that it should be undertaken, and without delay. Commodore Perry, in common with other members of his profession and with the rest of his countrymen, had his thoughts directed to the subject, with especial reference to the probabilities of accomplishing the object in view. He knew that there must be causes for a state of things so singular as was presented in the complete voluntary isolation of a whole people, and his first object was therefore to obtain a correct history of the past career of Japan. For this purpose he mastered all that he could derive from books, and found that the exclusive system of Japan was not the result of any national idiosyncrasy, but was caused by peculiar circumstances, long since passed away, and was in fact in direct opposition to the natural temperament and disposition of the Japanese people. He also found, in a careful examination of the repeated efforts of other nations to break down the barrier that shut them out, what he supposed to be the secret of their failure. Peculiar circumstances in the then political condition of the power seeking

admission; the rivalry of different nations striving to thwart each other; the indiscretion, not to say arrogance, of some of those entrusted with the mission, who sought to bully a brave people into acquiescence with their wishes; a misconception of the true character of the Japanese, who readily distinguished between obsequious servility and a manly spirit of conciliation, founded on the principle of doing what is kind and just, but not submitting for an instant to what is insulting and wrong; all these seemed to him to be the elements of failure, clearly to be traced, in a greater or less degree, in the efforts that had been made.*

§ 11. *Departure of Commodore Perry and arrival of the expedition in Yedo Gulf.*—When the Dutch heard of the proposed American expedition, they saw that their days of monopolizing foreign trade in Japan were numbered. With a view to make the best of the situation, their diplomatists made advances to the United States Government, proffering their good offices in assisting to conclude a treaty with Japan, upon a mutually advantageous basis. This doubtful offer was politely declined by the Americans, who had resolved to go single-handed into the venture. Accordingly Commodore Perry started on his mission in November, 1852. At first it was intended that he should have a powerful squadron under his command, but there was so much mismanagement and delay in fitting out the vessels that he took his departure in the 'Mississippi' steamer only. After a long but prosperous voyage, the ship, calling at various ports on the way, arrived in the Bay of Yedo, together with the 'Susquehanna,' the Commodore's flag-ship, and two sloops of war, the 'Saratoga' and the 'Plymouth,' which had joined him *en route*. As he intended, Commodore Perry purposely avoided entering the Bay of Nagasaki, or having any communication with the Dutch factory at De-sima, in case the president might claim to have favourably influenced his negotiations to conclude a treaty. Nevertheless, they did advance such a claim afterwards, but without the slightest foundation, according to satisfactory evidence.

§ 12. *Squadron anchors off the town of Uraga.*—On the afternoon of July 8, 1853, the American squadron came to anchor off the town of Uraga, situated on the western shore of Yedo

* 'Perry's Expedition to Japan,' by Dr. Hawks.

Gulf, a short distance from its entrance. Previous to anchoring a number of smart-looking craft had been observed coming from the shore in pursuit, as if to arrest the progress of the ships. These guard-boats struck every one with admiration of the perfection of their lines, which resembled those of clipper yachts. They were constructed of unpainted wood, with very sharp bows, a broad beam, a slightly tapering stern and a clean run. Their crews, numbering in some of the larger boats thirty or more, were tall and muscular men, who propelled them with great swiftness through, or rather over, the water, for they seemed to skim upon its surface instead of dividing it. As they neared the ships, gestures were made to allow their commanders to come on board; but the Commodore had given express orders, both by word and signal, that no Japanese should be permitted to do so, unless he had business in hand, and that such persons be limited to three at a time, with access only to his flag-ship. This plan of restricting native communication with the officers of the expedition at the onset was pre-determined by its commander so as to exercise an equal degree of exclusiveness with that of the Japanese, and to permit the functionaries only to communicate directly with the 'Susquehanna.' Moreover, Commodore Perry resolved that he himself should have no personal interview with any official unless he was of high rank. His policy was to assume a resolute attitude towards the Government, as he believed it the best to ensure a successful issue to the delicate mission with which he had been charged. "He was resolved," says Dr. Hawks, "to adopt a course entirely contrary to that of all others who had hitherto visited Japan upon a similar errand—to demand as a right, and not to solicit as a favour, those acts of courtesy which are due from one civilized nation to another."

§ 13. *Interview with a local official.*—The arrival of this armed squadron in Japanese waters, and lying at anchor within a short distance of Yedo, the seat of government, caused considerable consternation among the officials at Uraga. But they were scarcely taken by surprise, as they had been advised of the approaching expedition through their despatches from the capital, and these in advices from Nagasaki furnished by the Dutch. After some parley with an interpreter, who spoke Dutch, the Vice-Governor of Uraga was permitted to come on board the flag-ship, and was received in the captain's cabin,

where a conference was held with the Commodore through one of his staff, but he studiously secluded himself within his own state-room. This functionary was informed that the Commodore had brought a letter from the President of the United States of America to the Emperor of Japan, and that he wished a suitable officer might be sent on board his ship to receive a copy of the same, in order that a day might be appointed for the Commodore to deliver the original. To this he replied that Nagasaki was the only place, according to the laws of Japan, for negotiating foreign business, and it would be necessary for the squadron to go there. In answer to this he was told that the Commodore had come purposely to Uraga, because it was near to Yedo, and that he *should not go to Nagasaki*. Seeing the firm attitude and armed strength of these strange foreigners, the Vice-Governor took his leave, saying that in the morning an officer of higher rank than himself would come from Uraga, who might probably furnish some further information.

§ 14. *Preparations to resist any hostile attack.*—In order to be prepared for the worst in case the Japanese showed a hostile front, Commodore Perry caused the ships to be kept in constant readiness to repel an attack, and the crews to be exercised as thoroughly as if upon the eve of an engagement. That a watchful eye was kept upon the squadron was abundantly evident. Armed boats were observed rowing hither and thither, seemingly with the object of quietly watching the movements of the strangers; but they never came near the squadron, and were not by any acts of the authorities forced upon the recognition of them, by the Americans, as guard-boats. Three or four rockets were thrown up from the opposite shore during the afternoon, which were supposed to be signals for some purpose or other. When night came on, the presence of the ships in their waters was evidently keeping up a lively apprehension on the part of the Japanese on shore. Beacon fires were lighted on every hill-top, and along the coast as far as the eye could reach; while during the whole night the watches on deck could hear the tolling of a great bell, as an alarm-bell or signal of some kind. The bay was otherwise as quiet as an inland lake, and nothing occurred during the evening to disturb its tranquillity. When, however, the nine o'clock gun of the flag-ship—a 64-pounder—was fired,

the report reverberated loudly throughout the hills on the western side of the bay, and apparently created something like a commotion on shore, for here and there the fires were observed to be immediately extinguished. There seemed, however, no reason to expect any interference, although every precaution was taken. The ships had quite a warlike aspect, with sentinels stationed fore and aft, and upon the port and starboard gangways; with a pile of round shot and four rounds of grape at each gun; muskets were also stacked on the quarter decks, and the boats provided with carbines, pistols, cutlasses, and other weapons, besides plenty of ammunition.

§ 15. *Boat party reconnoitre and survey part of Yedo Gulf.*—Early next morning the Governor of Uraga came on board the flag-ship, accompanied by his interpreter and several officials. He was received by three officers next in rank to the Commodore, who still refused, in accordance with his policy, to receive any one but a "counsellor of the empire." After a long discussion, it was arranged that the Governor would send a communication to Yedo, asking for further instructions, and wait a reply in three days' time. Meanwhile, in order to improve the occasion, an armed boat with surveying apparatus was sent from each vessel, to take soundings in the harbour. The hydrographic reports were of the most favourable character, as deep water was found close in shore towards the head of Uraga Bay. A good view was obtained of the fortifications, which did not seem of a formidable character; their position and armament were such as to expose them to an easy assault. The surveying party next proceeded up the gulf towards the Bay of Yedo, this time accompanied by the 'Mississippi' under steam, partly to protect the boats and partly to overawe the authorities. This movement created great sensation both on land and water. In the distance on the eastern shore large numbers of soldiers were seen to march down from the higher ground to the beach, and there embark in boats, which put off in the direction of the surveying party. In proceeding towards the Bay of Yedo numbers of government vessels appeared, warning off the intruders; but they were not deterred from making a series of deep soundings all the way to Yokohama Bay, where the foreign settlement and port of that name is now situated. The party returned to the anchorage without any mishap.

§ 16. *Preliminary negotiations amicably arranged.*—On the day appointed for the return of an answer to the Governor's communication with Yedo, that functionary came on board with his suite; and, after a lengthened conference, produced a letter of credence from the Siogoon (or "Temporal Emperor," as he was erroneously designated), appointing Idzu *no-kami*, a noble of high rank, to receive the letter of the President of the United States, and bring it to Yedo. In the course of the conference, the Japanese dignitaries showed their great regard for ceremony, by adverting to various minute points of etiquette in reference to the approaching reception. They announced that all their functionaries would be dressed in official costume, and not in the clothes worn on ordinary occasions. A spacious temporary building was being erected on shore as a reception hall; and the day fixed for the grand interview was Thursday, July 17th.

§ 17. *Reception of Commodore Perry by a Japanese envoy.*—The place appointed for the reception, and delivery of the letter and credentials, was situated nearer the entrance of the Gulf than Uraga Bay, so that the squadron got under weigh on the morning of that day, and anchored off the shore where the temporary erection stood. The Governor and his suite came on board the flag-ship, to guide the Commodore and his escort to the landing-place. A signal was then hoisted from the 'Susquehanna' as a summons for the boats of the other ships, and in the course of half an hour they had all pulled alongside with their various officers, sailors, and marines detailed for the day's ceremonies. "The launches and cutters numbered no less than fifteen, and presented quite an imposing array; and with all on board of them in proper uniform, a picturesque effect was not wanting." These boats took their departure with the ship's cutters containing the two bands of the steamers, who enlivened the occasion with their cheerful music. When halfway towards the shore, the thirteen guns of the 'Susquehanna' fired a salute, announcing the departure of Commodore Perry, who, stepping into his barge, was rowed off to the landing-place. Here a hundred marines were drawn up on one side, and a hundred small-arms men on the other, with a hundred other supernumeraries, forming a double line from the beach to the building. Behind and skirting the beach, upwards of five thousand Japanese infantry and cavalry well equipped, and

armed with native weapons, rendered the scene imposing and martial. When the Commodore landed, a procession was formed, with the United States' flag and broad pennant borne before him; and two boys bearing the boxes which contained his credentials and the President's letter. A Japanese guard escorted him to the house of reception, which he entered with his suite. As they ascended to the hall, the two dignitaries, who were seated on the left of the entrance, arose and bowed, and they were conducted to chairs provided for them on the right. The interpreters then announced the names and titles of the high Japanese functionaries as Tosa Idzu *no-kami*, and Ito Imami *no-kami*, signifying that they were *Daimios* or nobles of the first class. They were both men of middle age, the former apparently about fifty, and the latter some two years younger; both gorgeously dressed in robes of heavy silk brocade, with elaborately wrought figures in gold and silver embroidery. After a brief pause, the Americans were seated, when the interpreter announced that the envoys were ready to receive the letters, and that a scarlet case was there to place them in. Upon this, the Commodore beckoned to the two boys to advance with the two handsome boxes containing them. Two stalwart negroes followed them, and opened the boxes, taking out the letters, to display the seals and writing, which they laid upon the lid of the Japanese box—all done in perfect silence. Accompanying the letters in English, were translations in Dutch and Chinese. This was explained to the native interpreter, when he thereupon prostrated himself before Ito, who gave him a roll of papers, which he handed to the Commodore as the Imperial receipt for his documents. After a silence of some minutes, he directed his interpreters to inform the envoys that he would leave with his squadron in a few days for China, and return again to Japan in the spring of 1854, with an increased squadron, hoping to conclude an amicable treaty with the Government. He was then informed that this brought the ceremony to a close; so he rose to take his leave, and as he departed the two envoys, still preserving absolute silence, also stood up, each making a grave and formal bow. The whole interview did not occupy more than twenty minutes, when the procession was re-formed, and the Commodore with his escort, returned safely on board their vessels.

§ 18. *Purport of the President's letter to the Emperor.*—At

that time Millard Fillmore was President of the United States of America, and he wrote to "His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Japan," whom he saluted as a "great and good friend," addressing him in a friendly strain; of which the salient points will be found in the following extracts:—"I have directed Commodore Perry to assure your Imperial Majesty that I entertain the kindest feelings towards your Majesty's person and Government, and that I have no other object in sending him to Japan but to propose to your Imperial Majesty that the United States and Japan should live in friendship, and have commercial intercourse with each other. . . . . We know that the ancient laws of your Imperial Majesty's Government do not allow of foreign trade except with the Chinese and the Dutch; but as the state of the world changes and new governments are formed, it seems to be wise, from time to time, to make new laws. There was a time when the ancient laws of your Majesty's Government were first made. About the same time America, which is sometimes called the 'New World,' was first discovered and settled by Europeans. For a long time they were but a few people, and they were very poor. They have now become quite numerous; their commerce is very extensive; and they think that if your Majesty were so far to change the ancient laws as to allow a free trade between the two countries it would be extremely beneficial to both. The United States reach from ocean to ocean, and our territory of Oregon and State of California lie directly opposite to the dominions of your Majesty. Our steamships can go from California to Japan in eighteen days. . . . . The United States constitution and laws forbid all interference with the religious or political concerns of other nations. I have particularly charged Commodore Perry to abstain from every act which could possibly disturb the tranquillity of your Imperial Majesty's dominions. . . . . The only objects for which I have sent Commodore Perry, with a powerful squadron, to pay a visit to your Imperial Majesty's renowned city of Yedo are—friendship, commerce, a supply of coal and provisions, and protection for our shipwrecked people. . . . . Washington, November 13, 1852."

CHAPTER II.

1854.

COMMODORE PERRY RENEWS FRIENDLY NEGOTIATIONS WITH AUTHORITIES — FIRST TREATY CONCLUDED WITH AMERICA AT KANAGAWA — INTERCHANGE OF PRESENTS — PORTS OF SIMODA AND HAKODADI OPENED.

§ 19. *Renewal of American relations with Japan in February* 1854. § 20. Commodore Perry maintains a firm attitude. § 21. Commencement of treaty negotiations at Yokohama Bay. § 22. Landing of the Americans in warlike array. § 23. Preliminary conference to negotiating a treaty. § 24. Presents brought by the expedition for the authorities. § 25. Model locomotive and electric telegraph exhibited. § 26. Inordinate curiosity of the Japanese. § 27. Shrewd remarks of Dr. Hawks on the leading points in the national character. § 28. Unsatisfactory note from the Commissioners. § 29. Commodore Perry persists in securing an independent treaty. § 30. Presents from the Emperor and Commissioner to the Americans. § 31. Great feast on board the Commodore's flag-ship. § 32. The United States treaty of Kanagawa signed. § 33. Japanese return banquet to the Americans. § 34. The Commodore and party walk inland, and sail up to Yedo Bay. § 35. Squadron enters the Port of Simoda. § 36. Description of the town and environs. § 37. Authorities obstructive and refractory. § 38. Indignation and stern remonstrances of the Commodore. § 39. Further annoyances, but all ultimately remedied. § 40. Interesting incident with two Japanese scholars at Simoda. § 41. Results of the visit to Simoda deemed satisfactory. § 42. Voyage from Simoda to Hakodadi. § 43. Picturesque aspect of the town and Bay of Hakodadi. § 44. Free intercourse with the people and liberty on shore granted. § 45. Clean and quiet aspect of the port and its inhabitants. § 46. Departure from Hakodadi. § 47. Perry's expedition departs from Japan.

§ 19. *Renewal of American relations with Japan in* 1854.—At the urgent request of Commodore Perry the squadron under his command was reinforced, so as to present a more imposing fleet, comprising the steamers 'Susquehanna,' 'Powhatan,' and 'Mississippi'; the sailing ships of war, 'Macedonian,' 'Vandalia,' 'Lexington,' and 'Southampton,' and the store-ship 'Supply.' The place of rendezvous before proceeding to Yedo Gulf was the harbour of Napha, in the Loo Choo Islands, where the Commodore had made arrangements for storing coal, and obtaining supplies for the squadron. Before sailing from this port he was informed by the officers of a Russian squadron in

Japanese waters, that the Siogoon, or "temporal Emperor," had just died. This was semi-officially notified to him by the Dutch Governor of Batavia in a letter to the Commodore, wherein it was stated that the superintendent of the factory at Nagasaki had been requested by the Japanese Government to inform the Americans that it was not desirable for them to return to Japan at the time appointed, as they feared that under the circumstances, caused by the decease of the "Emperor," the appearance of the squadron might create confusion, as the native authorities expressed themselves. At first the Commodore was inclined to treat this as a *ruse* to obstruct his negotiations; but even granting that it was true (which was proved subsequently to be the fact*) there seemed to be no reason for delay, and he was not to be deterred by such unforeseen circumstances from prosecuting his important mission. Accordingly, in February, 1854, the squadron took its departure from Napha, and on the 13th sailed into the Gulf of Yedo, where it came to anchor twelve miles higher up than before. At that time the shores were clad in the rich green livery of summer, which presented such a picturesque aspect to the ever-varying landscape. Now the frosts and winds of winter had swept the foliage away, laying bare the quaintly-built towns, the rudely constructed fortifications and rocky headlands; while the snow-capped, volcanic mountain, Fusi Yama,

* On this head Sir Rutherford Alcock writes as follows: "When Commodore Perry first arrived (in 1853), Minamotto Jejashi had reigned seventeen years as Tycoon. He is said to have been a prince of energy and experience, and to have carried weight in the Council of Daimios. . . . . The President's letter, it was resolved, should be received, and a year's delay was demanded for time to assemble a great Council of Daimios. A few days after, the Tycoon died suddenly. The following is said to be the palace chronicle of the mode of his death. Minamotto's Prime Minister was Etzizen *no-kami*, a stout defender of old laws and customs; and he, it is said, conspired with other Daimios then in the capital, as to the means *of saving the country from foreign influence*. It was agreed that the Tycoon should be poisoned; and some charge Etzizen *no-kami* with views of aggrandisement for himself, as future regent, the Tycoon's only son being of infirm mind. But when the cup containing the poison was presented to the Tycoon by one of the officers who had been tampered with, something roused the suspicions of the destined victim, and he threw the cup with its contents into his attendant's face, who instantly drew his sword and ran him through the body, killing himself immediately afterwards. Etzizen was loudly accused by the Tycoon's followers; and he also performed the *Hara-kiru*. Minamotto Yesade, the son aforesaid, succeeded his father, and Ikamono *no-kami* became regent; that office being hereditary in his family whenever the reigning Tycoon shall be incapable of governing."—'Capital of the Tycoon,' vol. i.

towered grandly in the distance to the height of 14,000 feet above the sea.

§ 20. *Commodore Perry maintains a firm attitude.*—When the Governor of Uraga and his colleagues saw the squadron sail past their town towards Yedo, they were in great tribulation, and lost no time to board the flag-ship to request the Commodore to return with it to his former anchorage. This, he informed them, through Captain Adams of the 'Powhatan,' he would not do, as it was not a safe harbour for his large ships. Several days elapsed in the attempts of the officials to induce the Commodore to have an interview with a high functionary at that town, but he firmly declined, sending, however, the captain of the fleet with a letter explaining his reasons for not going. Seeing that he could not be moved from the firm and progressive policy he had assumed from the first, they compromised matters, and arranged that the next place for conducting negotiations would be at Yokohama. Accordingly the squadron cast anchor in that roadstead, where it was increased by the arrival of the 'Saratoga,' while the Japanese commenced at once to construct a wooden building for the proposed conference.

§ 21. *Commencement of treaty negotiations at Yokohama Bay.*—The 8th of March was the day appointed to renew negotiations. At the anchorage abreast of Yokohama there was just sufficient room for the whole squadron of nine ships to take up their position in line of battle; the guns of the several starboard broadsides commanding an extent of shore equal to the entire range. At an early hour there was an unusual stir on land preparatory to the ceremonies of the occasion. Bands of flag-bearers, musicians, and pikemen manœuvred in order, here and there, glistening with their lacquered caps, bright-coloured costumes, crimson streamers, showy emblazonry coats of armour and burnished spears. Soon a large gaily painted barge came down the bay from Kanagawa, with the Japanese Commissioners on board, followed by an immense number of craft of all kinds, each with a tassel at its prow, and a square-striped flag at its stern. The day was fresh and clear, and everything had a cheerful aspect, in spite of the lingering wintry look of the landscape.

§ 22. *Landing of the Americans in warlike array.*—On their part the Americans had made every preparation to distinguish

the occasion of their second landing by all necessary parade, knowing the importance and moral influence of such show upon so ceremonious a people as the Japanese. Accordingly the Commodore issued orders to the effect that all the marines that could be spared from duty should appear in full uniform; that the bands of music from the three steamships should land, and all the officers and sailors that could possibly leave. When mustered they numbered about five hundred of all ranks, fully armed, embarking in twenty-seven boats, and landing in good order. The Commodore followed in his barge, under a salute of seventeen guns. On stepping ashore he was received by his officers, when they walked in procession to the building. "The bands now struck up some lively tune, and the marines (whose orderly ranks in complete military appointment, with their blue and white uniforms and glistening bayonets, made quite a martial and effective show), presented arms. . . . . A group of richly costumed Japanese guards, or retainers, with banners, flags, and streamers, were gathered on each side of the treaty-house. As the Commodore and his suite passed up between these, they were met by a number of officials, who came out and, uncovering, conducted them into the building. As they entered, by a preconcerted arrangement, howitzers, which had been mounted on the bows of the larger ships' boats, that were floating just by the shore, commenced firing in admirable order a salute of twenty-one guns in honour of the Emperor, which were succeeded by a salute of seventeen guns for Hayashi Daigaku *no-kami*, the High Commissioner, and the hoisting of the Japanese national flag from the masthead of the steamer 'Powhatan' in the bay."*

§ 23. *Preliminary conference to negotiating a treaty.*—Upon entering the temporary structure the Americans were agreeably surprised to find a spacious hall, laid out with taste, and warmed by copper braziers full of burning charcoal. As they took their seats, the five Commissioners, with their interpreters and attendants, entered from an apartment which opened through an entrance at the upper end of the hall. They were august-looking personages, and their grave but courteous manners, with their rich flowing robes of silk, set them off to the highest advantage. Their first proposition was that an adjournment

* Perry's 'Expedition to Japan.'

should take place to a small apartment, which would accommodate ten persons comfortably. This was acceded to, and here the conference began. The Chief Commissioner handed the Commodore an answer to the President's letter. Without referring to its contents (which were evasive and unsatisfactory), the Commodore at once broached the question of a treaty being entered into between the two nations, on the basis of the one ratified by the American and Chinese Governments—a copy of which was handed to the envoy. This was accompanied by two notes carefully drawn up by Commodore Perry, setting forth the advantages that would accrue to Japan as well as America, by friendly intercourse between the two nations. Moreover, he asked for such a treaty, not as a boon, but as a right that had become positively necessary, concluding with an implied hostile attitude, by saying, "Indeed, I shall not dare to return to the United States without carrying with me satisfactory responses to all the proposals of the President, and I must remain until such are placed in my possession." The Commissioners here asked for time to have the documents translated into their own language, before taking them into consideration and reference to higher quarters. This ended the conference, and the Commodore and escort took their departure, after inviting the chief dignitaries to visit the flagship, an invitation which they politely accepted.

§ 24. *Presents brought by the expedition for the authorities.*—While the wily diplomatists were consulting how to circumvent the proposals of the Americans, ostensibly put forward as entirely pacific, but backed by something stronger than moral force, the natives and visitors began to mingle somewhat freely. Although the Japanese authorities were still very jealous of any intercourse on the part of the Americans with the people, and did all they could to prevent it, still there was necessarily a good deal of intermingling. The ships were being daily supplied with water and provisions, for which the government officials were now authorized to receive payment; but they insisted on conducting all the transactions themselves, and provided their own boats and labourers for that purpose. But that which caused the most friendly intercourse, with both officials and populace, was the delivery of the presents brought by the Americans, and exhibition of them to the people. These consisted of a large variety of articles for warlike and pacific

purposes, chiefly the manufacture of the United States; each lot arranged for presentation to the "Emperor," Commissioners, or general distribution. His "Majesty" was apportioned cases of rifles, muskets, swords, and several baskets of champagne; the Commissioners came in for some of the same wine, besides sherry, maraschino, cherry cordials, and whisky, showing that the donors studied their well-known bibulous tastes; while for no specified parties there were duplicate packages of most articles, besides books and agricultural implements. The presents filled several large boats, which left the ships escorted by a number of officers, a company of marines, and a band of music. A building adjoining the treaty-house had been suitably constructed and arranged for the reception of them, which was done with due formality by the Chief Commissioner and his colleagues. A number of American officers and men, selected for the purpose, were diligently engaged daily in unpacking and arranging them for exhibition.

§ 25. *Model locomotive and electric telegraph exhibited.*—But the present that created the greatest interest among this naturally intelligent people, both high and low, was a good-sized working model of a railway engine, tender, and car, put into operation on a circular track of rails. They watched the result of arranging and putting the machinery together with an innocent and childlike delight. All the parts of the mechanism were perfect, and the car was a tasteful specimen of workmanship, but so small that it could hardly carry a child of six years of age. The Japanese, however, were not to be done out of a ride, and as those who ventured were unable to reduce themselves to the capacity of the carriage inside, they squatted on the roof. It was a spectacle not a little ludicrous to behold a dignified functionary whirling around the circular railway at the rate of twenty miles an hour; clinging with a desperate hold to the edge of the roof, grinning intensely with a kind of laughing timidity, and his body shaking convulsively with his loose robes flying in the wind. In like manner they observed the working of the telegraphic apparatus; the wires extending nearly a mile in a direct line, one end being at the treaty-house, and the other at a building expressly allotted for the purpose. When communication was opened between the operators at either extremity the learned officials were greatly amazed to find that in an instant of time messages were conveyed in the

English, Dutch, and Japanese languages from building to building. Day after day the dignitaries and many of the people would gather, and, eagerly beseeching the operators to work the telegraph, would watch with unabated interest the sending and receiving of messages.

§ 26. *Inordinate curiosity of the Japanese.*—In their exclusive state of existence, and apparent desire to remain for all time happy in their ignorance of the outer world, it was at once concluded by foreigners that the Japanese as a race were deficient in the faculties which prompt mankind to intellectual inquiry. Experience has proved that this was not only an erroneous supposition, but that they are among the most inquisitive people in the world. This was first demonstrated by them in their free contact with the Americans, where they "evinced an inordinate curiosity; for the gratification of which the various articles of strange fabric and the pieces of mechanism, of ingenious and novel invention, brought from the United States, gave them a full opportunity. They were not satisfied with the minutest examination of all things, so surprisingly wonderful as they appeared to them, but followed the officers and men about, and seized upon every occasion to examine each part of their dress. The laced caps, boots, swords, and tailed coats of the officers; the tarpaulins, jackets, and trousers of the men, all came in for the closest scrutiny; and a tailor, in search of a new cut or a latest fashion, could not have been more exacting in his observations than the inquisitive Japanese, as he fingered the broadcloth, smoothed down the nap with his long delicate hands, pulled a lappel here, adjusted a collar there; now fathomed the depth of a pocket, and again peered into the inner recesses of Jack's toilette. They eagerly sought to possess themselves of anything that pertained to the dress of their visitors, and showed a peculiar passion for buttons. They would again and again ask for a button, and when presented with the cheap gift, they appeared immediately gratified, and stowed it away as if it were of the greatest value. . . . When visiting the ships, the functionaries and their attendants were never at rest; but went about peering into every nook and corner, peeping into the muzzles of the guns, examining curiously the small arms, handling the ropes, measuring the boats, looking eagerly into the engine-room, and watching every movement of the engineers and workmen as they busily

moved, in and about, the gigantic machinery of the steamers. They were not content with merely observing with their eyes, but were constantly taking out their writing materials (their mulberry-bark paper, and their cakes of ink and hair pencils, which they always carried in a pocket within the left breast of their loose robes), making notes and sketches. They had all a strong pictorial taste, and looked with delight upon the pictures shown them, but their own performances appeared rude and inartistic."*

§ 27. *Shrewd remarks of Dr. Hawks on the leading points in the national character.*—In the narrative of this pioneer expedition to introduce Western civilization into Japan, Dr. Hawks, its historian, has not only performed his task faithfully, but has interspersed his subject-matter with shrewd comments on the national characteristics of the Japanese that almost amount to prescience, as events have transpired, in the fruition of the seeds that were sown by its astute and far-seeing leader, Commodore Perry. "The Japanese," he remarks, "are, undoubtedly, like the Chinese, a very imitative, adaptative, and compliant people; and in those characteristics may be discovered a promise of the comparatively easy introduction of foreign customs and habits, if not of the nobler principles and better life of a higher civilization." How this prediction of future progress in Japan has since been verified is patent to the world, surpassing the most sanguine expectations of foreign statesmen and diplomatists. Moreover, Dr. Hawks remarks: "Notwithstanding the Japanese are so fond of indulging their curiosity, they are by no means communicative among themselves. They allege, as a reason for this provoking reserve, that their laws forbid them to communicate to foreigners anything relating to their country and its institutions, habits, and customs. This silence on the part of the Japanese was a serious obstacle to acquiring that minute information about a strange people of whom curiosity is naturally on the alert to know everything. Much progress will, however, never be obtained toward a thorough knowledge of Japan, until men of intelligence are established in the country in the character of consular agents, merchants, or missionaries, who may thus be enabled to acquire the language, and mingle in intimate social

* Dr. Hawks in Perry's 'Expedition to Japan.'

relations with the people." This prediction has not yet been fulfilled, but we believe that the day is not far distant when we shall obtain a thorough knowledge of Japan through the foreign residents indicated by Dr. Hawks.

§ 28. *Unsatisfactory note from the Commissioners.*—While the subordinate officials and the people were thus fraternizing with the officers and men of the squadron privileged to go on shore, the Commodore and the Commissioners renewed their negotiations. A note from the latter to the former contained a reply to the proposition that a treaty should be entered into on the basis of the one with China. The articles providing that the Japanese should succour American shipwrecked mariners, and furnish supplies to passing ships were "to be granted without hesitation. But as to opening a trade," the document went on to say, "such as is now carried on with China by your country, we certainly cannot yet bring it about. The feelings and manners of our people are very unlike those of other nations; and it will be exceedingly difficult, even if you wish it, to immediately change the old regulations for those of other countries. Moreover, the Chinese have long had intercourse with Western nations, while we have had dealings at Nagasaki with only the people of Holland and China. Beside them, it mattered not for us to trade with those of any other land; and this has made our exchange of commodities very small. The ships of your country, therefore, [may] begin your trade at Nagasaki during the first moon of our next year, where they can procure water, coal, and other supplies; but as our ideas of things, and what we each like, are still very dissimilar, as are also our notions of the prices or worth of things, this makes it indispensable that we both first make a mutual trial and examination, and then, after five years, we can open another port for trade, which will be convenient for your ships when passing."

§ 29. *Commodore Perry persists in securing an independent treaty.*—This obstructive note would have been disheartening to most men, but not so to the gallant Commodore; who resolved to urge his point of having one or more ports open to American commerce, and ignoring Nagasaki more strenuously than ever. On the 17th of March, he met the Commissioners according to appointment at the treaty-house, as on the inaugural day of the conference, accompanied by his inter-

preters, secretary, and several of his officers, but all military display was dispensed with, and so it was with the Japanese envoys, although the negotiations were carried on with the same grave formalities in the inner chamber. Hayashi, the chief dignitary, opened the day's business by asking whether the Commodore was satisfied with their reply to his propositions for a treaty. He said it would be best to discuss the counter proposals of the Commissioners seriatim. This was agreed to, and the first three propositions concerning the treatment of American seamen wrecked on the coasts of Japan received his assent, excepting that one or more ports must be substituted for Nagasaki, and that such persons should enjoy all the freedom granted to the natives. The fourth proposition, that Americans at Nagasaki "shall have no intercourse with the Dutch and Chinese," received the curt reply that "the Americans will never submit to the restrictions which have been imposed upon the Dutch and Chinese, and any further allusion to such restraints will be considered offensive." The other three propositions were unimportant, but all were consecutively discussed with the replies, the Commissioners interposing with great pertinacity all possible difficulties, and contending that the laws of the empire were of such a character as positively forbade the concessions demanded. With equal pertinacity the Commodore declared emphatically that he would not think of accepting Nagasaki as an open port for his countrymen to be subject to the degrading restrictions submitted to by the Dutch, and that he should expect in the course of time five ports in the principal islands to be opened to the American flag, meanwhile he would be content with Uraga. Finding him so resolute, and that all their cunning devices to bend him from his purpose were of no avail, they formally proposed that Simoda, a port at the outer entrance to Yedo Gulf should be substituted for Nagasaki, and that Hakodadi in the island of Yeso should be open to American vessels in want of provisions, wood, and water. This last concession "betokened a favourable prospect for a successful issue to the great purpose of the expedition," Dr. Hawks remarks; "and the Commodore now looked forward with sanguine expectations to an early consummation of his labours in the formation of a satisfactory treaty."

§ 30. *Presents from the Emperor and Commissioners to the*

Americans.—Both parties were apparently satisfied with the concessions made and accepted; and accordingly there was a general interchange of courtesies. The Japanese acknowledged with courtly thanks the presents from the Americans, and invited the Commodore to receive the various gifts which had been ordered by the "Emperor" in return. These were displayed in the great reception hall, upon red covered settees, numerous tables and stands, and even the floor was heaped with the different articles. The objects were all of native manufacture and produce; consisting of rich silk brocades; of their famous lacquered ware, such as tables, trays, goblets, and boxes, all skilfully wrought and finished with an exquisite polish; of porcelain cups of wonderful lightness and transparency, adorned with figures and flowers in gold and variegated colours, and exhibiting a workmanship which surpasses even that of the ware for which the Chinese are remarkable. Fans, pipes and pipe-cases, and articles of apparel in ordinary use, of no great value, but of exceeding interest, were scattered in among the more costly objects. With the usual order and neatness which seem almost instinctive with the Japanese, the various presents had been arranged in lots, and classified in accordance with the rank of those for whom they were respectively intended. A list of these was read aloud by the Chief Commissioner, and they were formally handed over to the Commodore, who was specially presented with two sets of Japanese coin, three matchlocks and two swords. As the ceremony of giving and receiving was ended, and the Commodore prepared to depart, he was informed that the Emperor had sent a substantial present for the use of the squadron of two hundred sacks of rice, and three hundred chickens, which were down on the beach ready for shipment. Those evidences of Japanese generosity were duly acknowledged; when a formal delivery of the telegraph, railway train, and other articles, ensued; and the Commissioners having accepted an invitation from the Commodore to dine with him on board the flag-ship 'Powhatan,' they parted in mutual friendship.

§ 31. *Great feast on board the flag-ship of the Commodore.*—As usual, in barbarous as in civilized communities, the interchange of civilities culminated in feasting each other. The Commodore was desirous of giving the Japanese a favourable impression of American hospitality, and had accordingly spared

no pains in providing most bountifully for the expected party, which was understood to comprise no less than seventy persons, exclusive of boatmen and attendants. As it was known that the strictness of Japanese etiquette would not allow the High Commissioners to sit at the same table with their subordinates, two banquets were prepared, one in the Commodore's state-room, and the other on the quarter deck. On both tables a sumptuous feast was spread, of which the guests partook heartily, and freely imbibed the wines and spirits set before them, excepting the grave Hayashi, whose sobriety was proof against the unrestrained conviviality of his colleagues. The party on deck became quite uproarious under the influence of overflowing potations of champagne and punch; while they took the lead in proposing healths and toasts, shouting at the top of their voices, so that they were heard above the music of the bands that enlivened the entertainment by a succession of cheerful tunes. All passed over, however, without any mishap to the guests, who left the feast gorged; and what they could not eat they carried away in their pockets, according to custom.

§ 32. *The American treaty of Kanagawa signed.*—On the day following the great feast, a conference was held in the treaty-house to consider the remaining points of the treaty previous to signing. Those of the Commissioners who had been most hilarious on the previous night had now the gravest countenances, owing to the natural effects of their conviviality. A letter was handed to the Commodore from the commander of the 'Vandalia,' which he had dispatched to Simoda to report upon that place and its capabilities for a treaty port. This was favourable, so it was accepted, with Hakodadi for a second port, and Napha, in Loo Choo, for a third. On its basis a treaty was drawn up, and duly executed by seals and signatures on the 31st of March, 1854. The treaty consisted of twelve articles, providing that Simoda should be opened immediately after the treaty was signed, and Hakodadi at the same date in the following year. Americans resident or visiting the former port were permitted to trade with the Japanese merchants, and exchange gold and silver coin in payment by either party, at rates fixed by the authorities. Consuls or agents were allowed to reside there at any time after the expiration of eighteen months from the date of signing the treaty. It was agreed,

also, that if at any future day any other nation or nations should obtain other privileges and advantages, the same shall be granted to the Americans. Immediately on the signing and exchange of the copies of the treaty, the Commodore presented the first Commissioner with an American flag, remarking that he considered it the highest expression of national courtesy and friendship he could offer.

§ 33. *Japanese return banquet to the Americans.*—As soon as the formal business was concluded to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, the Commissioners invited the Commodore and his officers to partake of an entertainment which had been specially prepared for the occasion. The tables were spread in the large reception hall, being nothing more than wide divans, such as were used for seats and of the same height. When all were seated, the servitors brought in a rapid succession of courses, consisting chiefly of stews, in most of which fresh fish was a component part. These were served in small earthen bowls or cups, and were brought in upon lacquered stands, while throughout there was an abundant quantity, served in peculiar vessels, of *saki*, the Japanese national spirituous liquor, distilled from rice. Towards the close of the feast, a plate containing a boiled cray-fish, a piece of fried fish of some kind, two or three boiled prawns, and a small square rice pudding was placed before each guest, with a hint that they were to follow them on their return to the ships, and they were sent accordingly, and afterwards duly received. The Americans were not favourably impressed with either the quantity or the quality of the viands at this feast, or the Japanese cooks' skill in preparing them. However, the banquet passed over pleasantly and convivially, mutual compliments being freely exchanged and healths drunk in full, though Liliputian, cups of saki.

§ 34. *The Americans walk inland, and sail up to Yedo Bay.*—Now that the treaty was signed and exchanged, Commodore Perry obtained permission to proceed with a party for five miles into the country, to see the scenery and inhabitants. At first as they walked past habitations, their Japanese conductors scared away the women and children, but he opposed this, and was allowed to address the people generally. He was favourably impressed with their general demeanour, the tidiness of their persons and dwellings, so different from the filth and squalor that everywhere offends the eyes and nostrils of travellers in

China. He also extended his observations as near as possible up the harbour to the city of Yedo, much against the wishes of the authorities, as the squadron sailed into Yedo Bay. Only a partial glimpse of the capital was obtained in consequence of the day being misty, but he saw enough to convince him that it could easily be destroyed by a few steamers of very light draught of water, and with guns of the heaviest calibre.

§ 35. *Squadron enters the port of Simoda*—After the naval demonstration in Yedo Bay, within view of the forbidden capital itself, the squadron put about and sailed down the gulf, bound for Simoda, to the intense satisfaction of the authorities. Commodore Perry purposely dispatched the ships in succession, those with least draught of water first, in order to give time for examining the harbour and selecting the safest channels and anchoring places for their consorts of deeper draught. This proved to be judicious, for a conical rock was sounded with only twelve feet of water, right in the fairway to the inner harbour, on which the flag-ship might have struck. That vessel followed two days afterwards, and the dangerous rock was found to have been buoyed by the pioneer surveyors. At last they reached the inner harbour in safety, where the steam frigates had sufficient room for moorings, but the harbour, though good, was considered suitable only for a small number of vessels. However, the Commodore was satisfied, and reported in his home dispatch: "when its contiguity to the sea, its easy and safe approach, its convenience of ingress and egress, are considered, I do not see how a more desirable port could have been selected to answer all the purposes for which it is wanted." Moreover, as it is not more distant than a hundred miles by water communication with the city of Yedo, and about twenty miles farther by land, it was conveniently situated to have speedy intercourse with the Government at the capital.

§ 36. *Simoda and its environs.*—The town is situated at the western end of the harbour, on a plain from whence it derives its name, signifying "low field." As seen from the bay, its groups of low houses do not present an imposing appearance, but, with its background of hills, wooded with spreading pines and yew trees, and the verdant valleys that open between them, it has an air of sheltered repose, and an appearance of secluded rusticity that rendered it quite attractive to the Americans. On landing they found the town compactly built, and laid out

in streets at right angles; most of them capable of being closed by light wooden gates, with a width of above twenty feet, partly paved and partly macadamised, and having not only gutters but covered sewers, for drainage into the sea. The shops and dwellings were but slightly built of bamboo and wicker work, to withstand the shocks of earthquakes to which it was subject more than any other town on the coast. Hence, in all probability the reason why the cunning Japanese diplomatists offered the place so freely as a treaty port, hoping that the Americans would find it untenable after a few smart shocks, and dangerous for the erection of stone or brick buildings. It will be seen farther on that our inference is based upon good premises, when from that cause the residents were forced to abandon the port. Not so at the time of its first occupation, for they were delighted with the proximity of Simoda to the snow-capped cone of Fusi Yama, visible in the northern landscape, not much more than fifty miles distant, the centre of an active volcanic region. There it could be seen on a clear day pointing its summit into the heavens nearly as high as Mont Blanc, and far above the blue-tinted mountain-ranges near its base. Between these rocky mountains and the shore, richly cultivated fields and gardens clothed the slopes; while purling streams flowed through the vales, shaded with leafy groves, which beautified and enriched the land.

§ 37. *Authorities obstructive and refractory.*—After seeing the ships safely moored, and ordering parties on shore to secure fresh supplies, the Commodore lost no time in putting himself in communication with the authorities. The head official in the town ranked as a *bugio*, corresponding to a prefect, who had jurisdiction over the inhabitants within and without his limited district. On the third day after arrival he paid an official visit to that functionary, accompanied by a small suite of officers. The party was received with the usual formal courtesy, and the government interpreter was present, having been specially sent to assist the prefect in carrying out the conditions of the treaty. On returning, after taking a cursory view of the town under the guidance of some officials, he came on board with the impression that relations were likely to be conducted amicably with the authorities of the first free port opened. Not so; they tried in every possible manner to thwart the Americans in having free intercourse with the inhabitants, or

moving about in liberty without the surveillance of spies. This was manifested when the officers went on shore to stroll freely about the town and into the neighbouring country. As they had found at Uraga and Kanagawa, the common people seemed very much disposed to welcome the strangers in a friendly manner and have dealings with them. Dr. Hawks informs us that "they exhibited their usual curiosity, and thronged about the Americans, examining their dress, and, with almost childish eagerness and delight, fingered the officers' buttons, swords, and gay accoutrements, and, pointing to them, would ask, in their pantomimic way, the English names for each article which struck their fancy. It was soon discovered, however, that the Japanese authorities were not disposed to allow of this free intermingling of the people with the Americans, and no sooner was it observed than various armed soldiers or policemen came up and dispersed their countrymen. Not satisfied with this severe discipline upon the poor Japanese, the officials seemed determined to practise their authority upon the American officers. It was found that, wherever the latter went, they were followed by a squad of soldiers, who watched every movement, and dogged their steps with the pertinacity of a pack of hounds. The people, under the orders of the authorities, fled, and the town, with its shops closed and its streets deserted, was as sad as if it had been devastated by the plague. Even in their strolls into the country, the American officers found that they could not divest themselves of the perpetual presence and jealous watchfulness of the Japanese spies, who were evidently resolved to restrict the freedom of their visitors and put them under the most rigid surveillance."

§ 38. *Indignation and stern remonstrances of the Commodore.* —Upon being made aware of this treatment of his officers, Commodore Perry felt greatly indignant, and dispatched his flag-lieutenant and interpreters ashore, to call upon the prefect and lay before him complaints and remonstrances in writing. In the memorandum handed to them he expressed his dissatisfaction at the manner in which his officers were treated, and the inhabitants being debarred from intercourse, protesting against the closing of the shops, the dispersion of the people, and soldiers following the Americans. These he declared were at variance with the stipulations of the treaty, and threatened, if the annoyances should continue, that he would sail to Yedo

with his whole squadron and demand an explanation. On having this protest translated to him the prefect replied, that the Dutch at Nagasaki, when they went into the town or suburbs, were always followed by a dozen or more soldiers, and considered that as a precedent for his treating the Americans at Simoda as he had done. This comparison was indignantly repelled, and he was told that it was no criterion to go by, as they had a solemn compact with the Government of "amity and intercourse," as friends of the Japanese, and they would insist on being treated as such. This resolute language had its desired effect upon the prefect, but he proposed to refer the question of "free intercourse" to his superiors at Yedo for a proper interpretation of the clause. Meanwhile he gave orders that the houses should not be closed, and would not allow his soldiers to follow the Americans, so that the officers visited the shore without let or hindrance.

§ 39. *Further annoyances, but all ultimately remedied.*—Everything seemed to be now on a friendly footing, but a fresh outrage occurred which demanded the most peremptory rebuke from the Commodore, and apology from the authorities. This was an insolent interference with three officers who had gone into the country on a sporting excursion, and finding it too late to return to their ships that night, they resolved to sleep in the lodging apartment of a temple. As they were settling themselves for a night's rest on the soft mats, a troop of soldiers and officials rudely entered the room ordering them to leave instantly, and return to the squadron. Incensed at this, the officers stood to their arms and cocked their revolvers, which frightened the Japanese, who speedily made a retreat, and there was no further interruption with their repose. Next day the matter was brought before the prefect, who tried to justify the act of his myrmidons, as they were sent as a guard to protect the officers. He was then indignantly told that the Americans required no protection, as they were well able to protect themselves. Then seeing it was needless to prevaricate, he put the blame on his soldiers, who acted without his authority, and he apologized for the acts of his subordinates, regretting the occurrence. These matters being amicably settled, there was no further interruption to the friendly intercourse between the people of Simoda and their American visitors. They had now been twenty-five days in harbour, and all were

anxious for a change after the worrying with the authorities. Moreover, the 9th of May was near at hand, which had been appointed by the Commission for the Commodore to meet the officials at Hakodadi. Accordingly he took his departure for that port in his flag-ship, accompanied by another steam frigate, three of the sailing vessels having sailed previously, while the store-ship was left at Simoda, and the remainder of the squadron had gone to China and America to report progress.

§ 40. *Interesting incident with two Japanese scholars at Simoda.*—This brief narrative of the transactions of the American expedition, at the first port opened to them by treaty, would be incomplete if no allusion were made to an interesting episode in their relations with the Japanese, demonstrative of the stringent and sanguinary law which then existed prohibiting the departure of any subject from the country in a foreign ship on pain of death. One day while a party of officers were perambulating in a lonely part of the suburbs, they observed two men of the two-sworded class following them, whom they at first concluded to be spies. On closer observation, however, they appeared to be desirous of communicating with them. Accordingly they waited until they came up, when one of them thrust a roll of paper into the breast of an officer's coat, and then both of them stealthily retired with their fingers on their lips, in a mysterious manner. On returning to the flag-ship the papers, which proved to be a letter in the Japanese language, were handed to the interpreter for translation. This was done, and its purport as follows:—Two scholars had a yearning desire to travel in foreign countries, of which they had read and heard a good deal, and that since the appearance of the American squadron in Yedo Gulf, they fondly hoped that the time had arrived when they might gratify their wish. They wrote eloquently and feelingly on the subject after the flowery style of Orientals, imploring the commanders of the squadron to grant them a passage to the United States, and they would willingly give their services in any capacity in which they might be useful. On the following night they put off in a boat and got on board the flag-ship, casting their skiff adrift. After passionate entreaties on their part, and reference to the Commodore, they were told kindly but firmly that they would not be allowed a passage without the sanction of the Government, and that they must immediately return on shore, which

was effected in one of the ship's boats. Several days afterwards some of the officers strolling through the town came upon the prison, where the cells were, like menagerie cages, open to public view. Here were the two unfortunate scholars who had been seized by the authorities as criminals, for breaking the laws with intent to leave the country, and next day were forwarded to Yedo for examination and punishment. The Commodore interceded as far as he could in an unofficial manner on behalf of these enthusiastic scholars who had risked their liberty, if not their lives, in their laudable pursuit of knowledge. It was some comfort for him to learn before leaving Simoda that he need not apprehend a serious termination to the offence, but the fate of the two poor fellows was never ascertained. If he had only his own feelings to consult he would willingly have given them a free passage to America, but he had a public duty to perform of the most delicate nature, and he could not connive at the clandestine escape of two men who in the eye of Japanese law were criminals, however innocent they were in that of American law. When we compare this exclusive policy of Japan with regard to natives travelling into foreign countries twenty years ago, and the unlimited freedom they now possess to go and stay abroad, many scholars even at the expense of the Government, we have the most striking indication of the thorough progressive revolution in the State.

§ 41. *Results of the visit to Simoda deemed satisfactory.*— Previous to the Commodore's departure from Simoda, he had offered a passage to the Government interpreter from Yedo, or any other functionary whose presence might be required at Hakodadi; but even they were fearful of taking any step, however trifling in itself, without being fortified by the authority of their superiors, to whom one and all, at every step in the ladder of rank, were bound by law to give implicit obedience. However, he left Simoda satisfied that he had impressed the inhabitants with a just idea of the friendly relations he wished to establish with them, and taught the authorities that no infringement, in the slightest degree, of the stipulations of the treaty of Kanagawa would be allowed to pass with impunity. Moreover, during the twenty-five days the squadron lay at anchor in Simoda Harbour, a thorough survey of it had been made, and a considerable knowledge of the place and its resources acquired.

§ 42. *Voyage from Simoda to Hakodadi.*—On leaving the outer anchorage of Simoda, an interesting group of isles came into view, lying at the entrance to the Gulf of Yedo. These are all of recent volcanic formation, the principal one, named Oho-sima, having a volcano near its southern extremity, which was in eruption at the time the steam frigates passed close in shore, giving a good view of it. There seemed to be either several craters, or one of great extent, as the vapour and smoke was observed rising at short intervals and at different places along the crest of a ridge of mountains which extended to a distance of four or five miles. The Americans gazed on this with much interest, but they never calculated that its subterranean activity would extend to Simoda, and throw the little town into ruins before the year was out. After passing Oho-sima, another interesting phenomenon was observable as the vessels were steered north-easterly on their course to Hakodadi. Here they got into a rapid current in the Pacific Ocean, of a higher temperature than the waters on either side, which bore a striking analogy, in every essential point, to the Gulf Stream of the Atlantic. It is named by the Japanese *Kuro Siwo*, signifying "Black Stream," from its darker hue as compared with the ordinary tint of the sea; also, that it never changed its north-easterly direction. On experiment the hydrographers of the expedition found its average maximum temperature to be 86° Fahr., and the difference between this and that of the ocean in similar latitudes about 12°. Not only were these two great warm ocean currents analogous in these and other characteristics, but they found a sea-weed floating abundantly into the Kuro Siwo, similar to that of the Gulf weed. Without entering more minutely into the phenomena of this ocean current in the Pacific, we may state that it exercises that mild and moist influence on the weather of the Japanese Islands exactly in the same way as its greater type in the Atlantic does upon the British Islands, so beneficial to agriculture, and lessening the rigours of winter by preventing our northern harbours being closed by ice.

§ 43. *Picturesque aspect of the town and bay of Hakodadi.*—After the hydrographers of the expedition had examined the phenomena of the Kuro Siwo, the two steam frigates passed safely through the Tsugar Strait, which separates the great Island of Nip-pon from the lesser one of Yeso. Rounding a

cape, those on board could discern the masts of the three ships of the squadron lying snugly at anchor in Hakodadi Harbour, which had been previously dispatched to pilot the way. These were visible over a narrow neck of low land terminating in a lofty promontory, which for accessibility and safety renders this spacious and beautiful bay one of the finest in the world. Like Simoda, it has an outer and an inner harbour, the former being somewhat of a horse-shoe shape; and here, too, a dangerous obstruction was timely discovered and buoyed off, consisting of a long spit of shoal water making off from the centre of the town to an extent of about twelve hundred yards. On entering the inner harbour the port presents a striking and picturesque aspect. The promontory appears like an island off the mainland, and doubtless was so at one time; it is divided into three peaks, which reach to a height of from six hundred to a thousand feet. Their lofty summits are bare rocks, often covered with snow; their upper slopes are but scantily covered with brushwood, with a few trees: while below, where the mountains begin to rise from the level land, there is a rich profusion of arborescent growth and underwood, presenting a pleasing contrast to the bolder and more barren aspect of the higher acclivities. At the base of this rugged promontory on its inner point the town of Hakodadi stretches along the shore for a distance of three miles, with regular streets, and the houses rising up the slope in terrace style for about a mile at its widest part. The town thus appears to be nestling in repose under cover of shady groves of wide-spreading cypresses, tall forest-maples, besides the plum, the peach, and other fruit-bearing trees. Altogether the Americans were delighted with the aspect of the second treaty port they had secured in Japan.

§ 44. *Free intercourse with the people and liberty on shore granted.*—Soon after the steam frigates had cast anchor, a boat with the official ensign put off and slowly approached the flag-ship, when it came alongside, and several of the authorities stepped on board. After the usual courtesies, they were handed the letter which Commodore Perry brought from the Commissioners at Kanagawa, to the officers he expected to meet there on the 19th May. These functionaries assured him that no such officials had come, and they had not even heard of the treaty, or of the opening of Simoda. Moreover, as there

had not been any previous intimation of the intended visit of the American squadron, the inhabitants in the port and vicinity became greatly alarmed, and many had fled into the country. Without any further parley they were informed that the Commodore would send a delegation of his officers and interpreters on shore next day to confer with the authorities. This was done, when they were escorted to the residence of the Governor, whom they found seated in a handsome hall ready to proceed to business. At once the deputation proceeded to explain that the object of the squadron was to enable the Commodore to carry out the stipulations of the treaty between the United States of America and the Empire of Japan, and that any deviation from its spirit and letter on the part of the authorities in Yeso would lead to serious consequences. They then entered into some details, demanding similar privileges to those they succeeded in securing at Simoda, as to "free intercourse" between the officers and crews of the ships and the inhabitants. These demands sorely puzzled the Governor, who was a middle-aged man with a very benevolent expression of face, mild and courteous in his manners, and who treated his visitors hospitably. They returned on board upon the understanding that his Excellency and colleagues should state their objections in writing, and submit them for the consideration of the Commodore. This was done in a diffuse and rather pitiable strain; but he was firm though civil in his demands, which after much discussion were ceded reluctantly by the authorities.

§ 45. *Clean and quiet aspect of the port and its inhabitants.* —After these preliminary negotiations the officers of the squadron began daily to visit the town, walking freely through the streets, frequenting the shops and temples, and strolling without interference into the neighbouring country. A house was assigned for the accommodation of the Commodore and his suite, another for his officers, a third for scientific men and artists, and a temple was laid out as a bazaar, where articles of Japanese art and manufacture could be purchased at fair prices, a dollar being equal to three *itziboos*, a square oblong silver coin, or 4800 metal cash. Under these circumstances the Americans soon became acquainted with Hakodadi and its people. The town is regularly built, with streets at right angles to each other, between thirty and forty feet wide, which

are paved, macadamized, drained, and kept remarkably clean. A general quiet pervades the town, where no vehicles rumble along the thoroughfares; still the stranger is impressed with the idea that it is a thriving port, when he sees the droves of laden pack-horses slowly pacing through the streets, the hundreds of craft loading and unloading in the harbour, the numerous boats rapidly gliding across the land-locked bay, and the many richly dressed officials stalking about, or riding gaily caparisoned steeds. At that time the population was said to be about eight thousand, who, from their hardy occupations being chiefly seafaring, presented a robust appearance.

§ 46. *Departure of the squadron from the port of Hakodadi.*—Commodore Perry was not satisfied with the temporary concession of the Governor, as he was only an inferior functionary under the jurisdiction of Matsmai, the feudal lord of the province. Accordingly he put himself into communication with that *Daimio*, whose headquarters were at a town of the same name, about sixty miles west from Hakodadi, and invited him to a conference on board his flag-ship. This he did not comply with, but sent a representative, who stated that the questions under consideration could not be settled without instructions from the Government at Yedo. The chief point at issue was that of settling the boundary within which American intercourse was to be restricted, when the port would be opened twelve months hence to traders and residents. Seeing that there was no further occasion to confer with the local authorities, the Commodore resolved to postpone all negotiations until he should meet the Imperial Commissioners at Simoda, on the 15th June according to appointment. After a farewell visit of ceremony on shore and an interchange of courtesies and presents, the two steam frigates, being the only vessels of the squadron left, took their departure for that port on the third of the month.

§ 47. *Final departure of Commodore Perry's expedition from Japan.*—On arriving at Simoda, two new commissioners of high rank were there to settle the boundaries of American traffic at the two ports. According to the treaty this was set down at seven *ri*, or about sixteen miles round the port in a circuit. These limits were at once marked out by officers appointed by both parties, where walls and gates were to be erected. The great discussion, however, was to define the

boundaries, at Hakodadi; which were ultimately fixed at five *ri*, or about twelve miles radius. Additional regulations, consisting of twelve supplementary articles to the treaty, were drawn up and duly signed, providing for the port regulations; among which graveyards were granted, and a harbour-master with three pilots to be appointed for Simoda. It was also stipulated that native coal was to be supplied to American steamers at a depôt, afterwards to be named. As the negotiations had now terminated the Commodore prepared for his final departure by settling the ships' accounts with the authorities, which was not done without some higgling about the high prices charged. At length, on the 28th of June, 1854, the whole squadron got under weigh, and afterwards departed from Japanese waters, where they did not put in an appearance during the remainder of the year.

CHAPTER III.

1855.

ADMIRAL POUTIATINE, ENVOY FROM RUSSIA, ARRIVES — DESTRUCTION OF SIMODA BY AN EARTHQUAKE — WRECK OF THE FRIGATE 'DIANA' — RUSSIAN TREATY CONCLUDED.

§ 48. Russian expedition under Admiral Poutiatine. § 49. Cunning policy of Russian Envoys in the Far East. § 50. Importance of Japanese harbours to Russian fleets. § 51. Proposals of Poutiatine to co-operate with Perry declined. § 52. Admiral Poutiatine proceeds to Simoda to negotiate. § 53. Simoda overwhelmed by the sea through an earthquake. § 54. The town swept away and hundreds of people drowned. § 55. Perilous position of the Russian frigate 'Diana' in the bay. § 56. Total wreck of the frigate in Yedo Gulf. § 57. Shipwrecked Russian officers and crew succoured by the Americans. § 58. American survey of the desolated harbour. § 59. Promptitude of American Envoy in returning with treaty ratifications. § 60. Conciliatory disposition of the Japanese to the Americans. § 61. Rapid rebuilding of Simoda. § 62. United States Envoy exchanges ratifications with Japanese Commissioners. § 63. Admiral Poutiatine succeeds in concluding a Treaty. § 64. Russian officers and crew return to Petropaulovski in an American schooner. § 65. Owners of schooner, with wives and families, left at Simoda. § 66. Authorities not satisfied with sojourn of American traders. § 67. Commodore Rodgers arrives and considers the residence question. § 68. Presents letters to the Governor of Hakodadi about settling there. § 69. Japanese authorities refuse indefinite residence to American traders. § 70. Dr. Hawks' narrative of American expeditions to be relied on for accuracy.

§ 48. *Russian expedition under Admiral Poutiatine.*—No sooner was it known to foreigners that the "American Treaty of Amity and Commerce," on a liberal basis, was a *fait accompli*, than the great European Powers, who had hitherto been unsuccessful in their negotiations, renewed their efforts to secure advantageous relations with Japan, similar to those obtained by Commodore Perry. Soon after that gallant naval officer and astute diplomatist had taken his departure with the squadron under his command, a Russian naval expedition made its appearance in Japanese waters, under the command of Admiral Poutiatine. To understand the movements of that envoy of the Czar at this time, it must be mentioned that on a

previous occasion he made a demonstration of his squadron in the bay of Nagasaki at the time of Commodore Perry's first visit to the Gulf of Yedo. He had four ships of war, including the frigate 'Pallas,' and the steamer 'Vostock' there, but it was well known that there was an unusually large Russian naval force on the Pacific station, to be ready for any emergency, in anticipation of hostilities with the British fleet, during the Crimean war. While this force was prepared to defend their possessions in Kamtchatka and on the Amoor River, yet the ships were ready to carry out the well-known aggressive policy of that nation in making a descent on Japan. These movements were known to the Japanese Government, and were viewed with so much apprehension that they dispatched a special agent to discover if possible their ulterior purposes.

§ 49. *Cunning policy of Russian envoys in the Far East.*—Among foreign diplomatists there were not wanting those who suspected that Russia was silently pursuing her own system of policy. Commodore Perry was of opinion that if he failed in his peaceful attempts to conclude a treaty of amity, and be brought into hostile collision with the Japanese, Russia was on the spot not to mediate but to tender to Japan her aid as an ally in the conflict, and if successful to avail herself of the moment of confidence to secure a foothold on some of the Japanese islands, with the intention, probably, at the proper time, of absorbing all by a forced protectorate. That this was no idle surmise was illustrated by their policy in China: when the allied forces of Great Britain and France were invading the empire, the Russian ambassador at Peking tendered his good offices to the Chinese Government for a cessation of hostilities, provided they ceded a large territory in Manchooria. This was agreed to by the frightened emperor and his ministers, who signed a hurried convention. The war ended with the allies, but wherein Russia became the *amicus curiæ* was not seen, yet she retains that valuable annexation to her dominions in the far East to this day.

§ 50. *Importance of Japanese harbours to Russian fleets.*—Moreover, it was evident to the Americans that to no other European Power would the annexation of Japan, or the control of its affairs, be so important as it would to Russia. She was the natural rival to their own claims and geographical position, being on one side of the islands, and the United States on the

other. It was then becoming evident that the Pacific Ocean is destined to be the theatre of immense commercial undertakings; and with such harbours as those of Japan in her power, she might hope to rule the maritime traffic on its boundless waters. The friendly relations and influence of the Americans with the Japanese, therefore, might interfere materially with her ultimate plans of aggression. Hence she was first in the field to watch all their movements, and endeavour by some naval demonstration to forestall them; or failing in that, instruct her plenipotentiary, Admiral Poutiatine, to make friendly advances to Commodore Perry, that they should take joint action together in negotiating a treaty, by force if necessary.

§ 51. *Proposals of Poutiatine to co-operate with Perry declined.*—On this important phase of these inaugural treaties in opening up foreign relations with Japan, Dr. Hawks makes the following statement in his narrative of the American expedition:—"Commodore Perry was at some loss to understand precisely the policy of Russia. In a letter of November 12th, 1853, the Russian Admiral made a distinct proposition of joining his forces to, and entering into full co-operation with, the American squadron. This may have been prompted by an expectation of our success and a doubt of his own. At any rate, the Commodore civilly, but decidedly, declined the proposal, and, in a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, assigned most satisfactory reasons for so doing. He stated that it was 'inconsistent with our policy of abstaining from all alliances with Foreign Powers; and for the reason, also, that his co-operation cannot advance the interests of the United States, however it might benefit the objects of the Russian Emperor, of the nature of whose designs I am utterly ignorant.' But whatever were her secret purpose to promote or throw obstacles in the way of our success, if she had any, one thing is certain, *for that success we are not indebted in the slightest degree to Russia by any direct act of hers to that end.* Indirectly, however, she may have furthered the object. We are in possession of information tending to show that the Imperial Government seems to be mistrustful of the purposes of Russia. . . . . The Japanese have resolved that they will raise an efficient army, and equip a navy, not composed of junks, but of vessels built after the European model. The restrictions on shipbuilding have been removed,

and already, since our treaty was signed, one vessel for commercial purposes has been built and rigged like ours. The Japanese, too, have heard of the war in which Russia is at present engaged. The information produced intense excitement, and it was resolved by the Imperial Council that treaties similar to that made with the United States should be made with all nations seeking them. *This opens Japan to the trade of the world.* They knew, too, that the British Admiral Stirling was seeking the Russian vessels in the neighbourhood of Japan; and thence they were more willing to make treaties with all, as the means of securing Japan from aggression by any, and of enabling her to preserve, as she wishes, a strict neutrality. The visit of Russia, however, led to no treaty. The squadron left Nagasaki on the 23rd of November, 1853, and returned to that port early in 1854. It left again, after several fruitless interviews with the Japanese authorities, on the 5th of February, and was absent until the 20th of April, when it reappeared at Nagasaki; but it remained until the 26th only, when it took its final departure." When the Japanese officials at Kanagawa were questioned by the American officers on this head, they replied that no treaty of any kind whatever had been made with the Russian Admiral; he was told that the Government had so many affairs to dispose of that their propositions could not be entertained at that time; although, perhaps, in the course of a few years circumstances might be more favourable for negotiation. This they declared was the constant answer to their repeated demands. The Russians had been, however, supplied with wood, water, and provisions. One of the chief objects of their anxiety to conclude a treaty was to define with precision the frontier of their possessions recently acquired, from the Chinese, on the island of Saghalien, which is now held by Russia and Japan, as a joint possession.

§ 52. *Admiral Poutiatine proceeds to Simoda to negotiate.*—When the Russian squadron returned to Petropaulovski, their only place of safe rendezvous in Kamtchatka, in the spring of 1854, Admiral Stirling and his fleet were cruising about to have a brush with them, if they ventured into open water. This challenge they did not accept, considering it more prudent to remain in that fortified port under protection of its heavy guns. As the year wore on news reached Admiral Poutiatine of the successful termination to Commodore Perry's expedition;

and it was tantalizing that he was obliged to remain inactive with his squadron, while both should be in Japan to secure the best possible terms by treaty under the new policy promulgated by the Imperial Council to grant treaties to all the leading European Powers on the same basis. Notwithstanding the risk he incurred, he resolved on venturing out of harbour in a single ship only, and proceeding without delay to Japan. Accordingly he hoisted his flag on the frigate 'Diana,' and took his departure in December, arriving without mishap in the Bay of Simoda. He was received very coolly, but with the usual Japanese politeness, by the authorities, to whom he explained the object of his visit. At first they were surprised that the Admiral, representing the all-powerful empire of Russia, should come in such homely guise attended by a small suite and one ship only, where they could have expected a large fleet, and a host of officers and men. When they compared this minor expedition with the grand display of the American Commodore, his suite, officers, sailors, and marines on board nine magnificent ships, it may be easily supposed that the boasted grandeur and power of the Czar of all the Russias suffered in comparison with that of the United States President. With their usual acumen the inquisitive prefect and his interpreters soon found out the cause of this limited expedition, and were not slow in taking advantage of it. Of course the propositions submitted could not be entertained by them, so they were forwarded to Yedo for consideration; the Admiral, his officers and men to remain on board the 'Diana' until an answer was received regulating their movements on shore. In these arrangements it was humbling for the proud Russian officers to be so bound; but they were destined to suffer a still greater calamity, which made this hasty mission one of the most unfortunate on record.

§ 53. *Simoda overwhelmed by the sea through an earthquake.*—It has been already mentioned that the province of Idzu and the adjacent isles lie within the most active volcanic region in the great Island of Nip-pon; and that in May, 1854, the officers of the American squadron saw the volcano on the island of Oho-sima in eruption. At the time no tremblings or shocks of an earthquake were felt. However, about the close of the year, subterranean rumblings were heard, heralding some volcanic upheaval or subsidence of the land. On the 23rd of December

the devastating wave of pent-up force shook the region in these latitudes, right across the island from east to west, for a distance of three hundred miles. Great part of the city of Osaka on the south-eastern sea-board was destroyed, and some injury was done to Yedo, while the town of Simoda was all but swept away. The effect of the phenomenon at this port was not caused so much by the direct oscillation of the land, but by the action of the waters in the bay from the agitation of successive shocks. At first they rose and fell like water in a boiling caldron; then they rapidly retreated from the shore, leaving the bottom of the harbour nearly bare, where at ordinary tides there were thirty feet of water. After a short pause, the waters rushed in upon the beach in front of the town with resistless velocity, rising up into a huge wave, thirty feet above high-water mark, overwhelming the houses in the flood and inundating the whole plain up to the base of the surrounding hills. When its force was spent, this wall of water subsided, and then receded to the bay with slightly lessened force, until it again laid bare its bed. Then it returned as before, and the waters receded in the same manner, five several times in all, until their momentum diminished to that of an ordinary tidal wave, when the earthquake ceased its violent shocks, although it continued to tremble for some time after these devastating convulsions.

§ 54. *The town swept away and hundreds of people drowned.*—On land the bewildered inhabitants fled from the town and the low-lying suburbs to the adjacent hills for safety. It was a race for life before the overwhelming flood which swept away their fragile tenements like chaff before the wind. As the waters surged to and fro they were broken up piecemeal, until not a dwelling, shop, or public building remained, except a few that stood upon slightly elevated sites. The most of their hapless inmates managed to reach the higher grounds in safety, but many hundreds were overtaken by the climbing waters and were drowned. These comprised chiefly the aged, feeble, and young who could not run before the rushing waters, and others more robust who had delayed moving until they saved some of their goods and chattels, perishing in the attempt. It was a melancholy sight for these industrious people to look down from the heights upon the place where but an hour before lay their picturesque town, the abode of

rural felicity and contentment. Now the rigid winter season had set in, and there was scarcely a roof left to shelter them from its rigours. A few temples and dwellings of the upper class on elevated spots were all that was left of what was once the town of Simoda. Where the trim gardens and fields, interspersed with orchards, gave a charming aspect to the scene, all was wreck and ruin, covered with the slime, mud, and sand from the bed of the harbour, utterly destroying the vegetation left from an abundant harvest. In the bay the scene of desolation was equally complete. Of the numerous trading craft that lay at anchor scarcely one was seen afloat, and the fishing boats drawn up on the beach were mostly broken into fragments, and mingled with the débris on land. In like manner the bay and the surrounding shores were strewn with the houses demolished and native craft torn from their anchorage; while those who survived the catastrophe clung to the upturned boats, but many who were swallowed by that monster wave were vomited forth dead upon the beach.

§ 55. *Perilous position of the Russian frigate 'Diana' in the bay.*—As far as could be ascertained the time that this violent sea-quake—if we may so term it—lasted was about half-an-hour. During that period the Russian frigate 'Diana,' bearing the flag of Admiral Poutiatine, was lying at anchor in the harbour in six fathoms water. When the sea first retreated from the land the ooze in the bottom of the bay bubbled up as if agitated by a thousand springs. So shallow did the water become that those on board saw distinctly the stock and upper fluke of the anchor, while there was not more than four feet of water alongside the ship. When the waters rushed in they boiled like a maelstrom, circling round the bay in a gigantic whirlpool. Such was their velocity and force that the heavy hull of the frigate with an armament of fifty guns was carried round and round as if it were no more than a cork on an eddy, making forty-three complete revolutions in the space of thirty minutes. Fortunately the anchor held its ground, although the cable was severely twisted, otherwise the vessel would have been wrecked on the shore, and in all probability many lives lost. As it was, the officers and crew actually became giddy by the fearful gyrations of the ship, and the stoutest heart on board quailed at the dread phenomenon, where it was

just possible that the very bed of the bay might be rent asunder by volcanic agency, and the frigate with its living freight of two hundred and fifty souls be swallowed up in the vortex.

§ 56. *Total wreck of the frigate.*—After the effects of the earthquake had somewhat subsided an inspection of the frigate was made to ascertain what damage she had sustained. At once it was found that she had sprung a leak and was making water rapidly, although the sea became comparatively tranquil. On further examination they found that the ship's rudder, stern-post, and a great part of her keel had been broken off and lost, and her hull generally very much injured by straining and fouling on the rocky bottom of the anchorage. Immediately the crew were set to work at the pumps, and at once to land the guns and other heavy portions of the armament, so as to lighten the ship. This relieved her a little, but the only way to repair the damage was to heave her down on a suitable beach, and thoroughly overhaul her bottom. No part of the shores of Simoda harbour was found, after a survey, to present a convenient spot for that purpose. Accordingly, Admiral Poutiatine sent those of his officers competent to judge away in the pinnace to examine the coast. On their return they reported having discovered a most excellent harbour for careening ships, resembling that of Hakodadi, but much smaller and completely land-locked, with an abundance of water. The name of the bay is *Heda*, situated at the headland of the gulf which lies westward of the peninsula of Idzu, and about sixty miles from Simoda. Here the Russian Admiral attempted to take his disabled ship and repair her, but a gale came on and she foundered near the shore, the officers and crew with difficulty saving their lives.

§ 57. *The shipwrecked Russian officers and crew succoured by the Americans.*—On returning to Simoda the shipwrecked officers and crew of the ill-fated 'Diana' were in great distress and suffered many privations throughout the depth of winter. They were in as sad a plight for want of provisions and shelter as the homeless starving Japanese, so they could expect no succour from these friends in misfortune, even if they had the wherewithal to spare. However, most of the crew were Finlanders, accustomed to the frigid clime of northern Russia and the supply of coarse black bread and fish which constitutes the

chief part of the food in that maritime province. Those who were experienced fishermen were told off to fish in the bay; whilst others erected temporary huts out of the broken timber of houses and boats cast on shore. In this way they managed to eke out a subsistence, their sparse supplies of fish being supplemented by a limited store of ship's provisions, landed with the guns, and which were divided into very small daily rations, as they knew not when they might be relieved. For upwards of a month they lived in this manner, with little prospect of getting a ship to take them back to Petropaulovski. While murmuring over his untoward fate one day about the end of January, 1855, Admiral Poutiatine was agreeably startled to receive a report from the watch at the seaward look-out that a large foreign steamship, like a man-of-war, was seen in the offing, steering for the port of Simoda. This proved to be the American steam-frigate 'Powhatan,' having Commander Adams on board, with the Treaty of Kanagawa, duly ratified by the President and Senate of the United States. No time was lost by the Russian Admiral in boarding the ship and laying his disastrous case before its commander, Captain McCluney, asking for succour to his shipwrecked officers and crew. That gallant officer, on learning the disastrous news of what had befallen them, as well as the inhabitants, did not hesitate to comply with his request, and generously supplied them with all the provisions he could spare from his ship's stores.

§ 58. *American survey of the desolated harbour.*—As it was a matter of importance to know the effects of the earthquake on the hydrographical condition of the bay, as a safe harbour for shipping at their first open port in Japan, the officers on board the 'Powhatan' immediately made a general survey of it. In his report, Commander Adams states that the natural outline of the harbour remained unaltered, but the holding-ground appeared to have been washed out to sea, leaving no bottom scarcely but naked rocks. This, however, will be resupplied, as it was furnished in the first instance, by the washings from the land, which will probably accumulate rapidly. The 'Powhatan,' for want of holding-ground, dragged with three anchors ahead, the wind blowing across the harbour and no sea. Indeed, she was obliged to rely on her steam to keep off the rocks.

§ 59. *Promptitude of American Envoy in exchanging ratifica-*

tions of the treaty.—"Commander Adams," says Dr. Hawks, "it will be remembered, was despatched home with a copy of the treaty, on the 4th of April, 1854, in the 'Saratoga.' On the 1st of May he reached Honolulu, and took the first vessel that offered for San Francisco, and thence, taking the usual route, *viâ* Panama, reached the city of Washington on the 12th July, thus making the travel from Japan to our seat of government in three months and eight days. The treaty was submitted by the President to the Senate, and was by that body promptly and unanimously ratified; and on the 30th of September Commander Adams left New York with the ratified copy for Japan. On reaching England he took the 'overland route,' and arrived at Hong Kong on the 1st of January, 1855. The 'Powhatan' was ordered by Commodore Abbot immediately to convey Commander Adams to Simoda, where he arrived on the 26th of January, with full powers, as the representative of the United States, to exchange with the Japanese authorities the ratifications of the treaty. The journey back to Simoda occupied three months and twenty-seven days, and the whole time that elapsed between the signing of the treaty and the arrival of it in Japan, duly ratified by the President and Senate, was nine months and twenty-seven days." In this itinerary the time expended in travelling by sea and land comprised ninety-nine days going and one hundred and nineteen returning, in all two hundred and eighteen days, which was considered extraordinary speed, twenty years ago, to and from America and such an out-of-the-way place as Japan. Nowadays, the same could be accomplished by the Pacific mail route in less than one-fourth the time, and with the aid of telegraphy the stay at Washington reduced to one-third; or what took two hundred and eighty days to perform could now be done in seventy-seven. These are the fruits of Perry's treaty and American enterprise, of which they may well be proud.

§ 60. *Conciliatory disposition of the Japanese to the Americans.*—The American envoy lost no time in communicating with the authorities at Simoda, and exchanging ratifications of the treaty with the ministers at Yedo. He found a new set of functionaries in office, as the port was under Imperial jurisdiction, instead of the former municipal authority. He was gratified to find that the Governor was one of the treaty commissioners, and the Government interpreter, who spoke

English, had been promoted to a post there. Others of the commissioners were also there for the purpose of exchanging ratifications, and Commander Adams was not allowed to feel that he was among strangers. They inquired with great interest about Commodore Perry, saying that his "name would live for ever in the history of Japan." Not only were the officials most conciliatory, but the people generally were much more disposed to be friendly and sociable to the Americans than on their previous visit. The officers of the ship roamed over the country undisturbed, went into the villages, and were received with a welcome everywhere. Espionage seemed to be laid aside, for there was no attempt to follow or watch them. The shops having been all destroyed, and not yet replaced, a bazaar was opened in a temple repaired for the purpose, and was soon filled with a variety of beautiful articles brought from Yedo and the interior towns. An anxious wish was expressed by the people that trading-vessels from America would soon begin to visit Simoda, and the Governor intimated to the commander that it would be very agreeable to him personally if a consul of the United States should be appointed to reside at the port. All were exceedingly desirous of obtaining English books, especially on medical and scientific subjects; and many valuable books were presented to the officials. However, they would have nothing to do with religious books, and a parcel of these left by the chaplain of the expedition were handed over to Adams from the Governor to be taken back, as it was contrary to Japanese law to have them in the country, or for Christianity to be spread among the people in any way whatsoever. Happily, these laws are now abrogated, and works upon religion may be freely disseminated through the land, without any restrictions upon those who read them or of their becoming converts.

§ 61. *Rapid rebuilding of Simoda.*—When the Americans first landed after hearing the Russian account of how the town was nearly swept away, they were prepared to see a scene of utter desolation. It is true that they found a great and sad change in the physical aspect of the place, but the evidences of its destruction were fast disappearing, and the town was being rapidly restored, although little more than a month had elapsed since the dreadful volcanic visitation. Notwithstanding the calamities caused by the earthquake and its aqueous

effects, the inhabitants, who survived the disaster, exhibited a buoyancy of disposition and an energy of character in rebuilding Simoda, which few communities in Europe could show under similar circumstances. If they grieved at first over the loss of life and property it was only momentary. They did not sit down listlessly and weep over their misfortunes, but with alacrity one and all went to the work of restoration, seeming but little dispirited. When the 'Powhatan' arrived they were busily engaged in clearing away the débris, and erecting new dwelling-houses or shops upon the old sites. Building materials were coming in daily from all quarters, and the number of workmen increased, so that before the vessel took its departure, on the 22nd of February, there were about three hundred new buildings nearly or quite completed; though occasionally some pretty strong shocks were admonishing them of a possible recurrence of the calamity. No doubt, from the fragile character of their dwellings, as they were easily destroyed, so they could be rapidly rebuilt; nevertheless it was a striking illustration of that quiet resignation to the ills of life and buoyancy of disposition which mark the Japanese character.

§ 62. *American Envoy exchanges treaty ratifications with Japanese Commissioners.*—"As to the exchange of ratifications," says Dr. Hawks, "the Japanese at first interposed two objections: these, however, did not arise from unwillingness to abide by their engagements, but were rather technical, and founded upon their scrupulous interpretation of a written contract, and upon their profound respect for ceremonials. The objections were, first, that their copy of the treaty said it was to be ratified *after* eighteen months; ours said *within* eighteen months; but as the Dutch and Chinese translations agreed with our English copy, and as that had been taken as the original, they became convinced that the discrepancy arose from the ignorance of the translator, and having had explained to them what was meant by our English word "within," they very gracefully withdrew all objection on this score. The other objection was to the Emperor's affixing his sign manual to the Japanese copy for our Government. They said the Emperor never signed any document, but the supreme council only. Commander Adams represented to them that the President and Secretary of State had signed the copy he had brought for them, and besides, the Emperor was the party

named in the instrument as having made the treaty, and therefore he wished his signature. Finally, it was concluded that both the Emperor and supreme council should sign it, and it was accordingly done." It will be seen further on that the personage who signed the ratification of this and subsequent treaties, was not the legitimate hereditary monarch of Japan. However, the envoy was satisfied with the exchanges, which were formally made on the 21st of February, by ordering the 'Powhatan' to fire a salute of seventeen guns and flying the Japanese flag at the fore. A ratified copy of the "additional regulations" was also exchanged, as it was considered by the Commissioners part of the treaty. Next day the 'Powhatan' left Simoda, and Commander Adams returned to the United States, trusting that permanent friendly relations were established between America and Japan.

§ 63. *Admiral Poutiatine succeeds in concluding a treaty between Russia and Japan.*—Meanwhile the Russian Admiral did not neglect his mission, notwithstanding the mishaps that had befallen him and his men. He continued to carry on negotiations with the Commissioners at Simoda, and they referred his proposals for a treaty to their superiors at Yedo. What these were did not transpire, as Russian diplomatists are bound to the closest secrecy in exercising their functions. At last Admiral Poutiatine did succeed in concluding a treaty; but all he vouchsafed to inform Commander Adams as to its purport was that it comprised exactly the same articles as in the American treaty, with the single alteration of Nagasaki being substituted for Napha in Loo Choo as the third port open to traffic. This was carrying out the policy formed by the Imperial Council to grant treaties to all foreign Powers applying, based upon the same concessions, so that no one State could demand more than another, at the same time that each contained a favoured nation clause, stipulating that any privileges granted hereafter to one should be claimed by all. The Japanese Commissioners were as reticent about these negotiations as the Russians, though it was evident the treaty was granted with reluctance, and they appeared to entertain no good will towards them.

§ 64. *The Russian officers and crew return to Petropaulovski in an American schooner.*—Fortunately for the distressed Russian seamen the whole of the officers and crew of the ill-

fated frigate 'Diana' were enabled to leave Simoda for Petropaulovski in an American schooner. This was the 'C. E. Foote,' a trading vessel from San Francisco bound for Hakodadi, with a cargo of ship chandlery, chains and anchors, pork and beef, sails, cordage and other gear, to establish at that port a supply depôt for American whaling ships, so that they might winter there instead of Honolulu, as hitherto done. She arrived at Simoda on the 15th of March, and had touched there in expectation of meeting the 'Powhatan' and 'Vandalia,' for which she had brought letters; and also to consume the time that had to elapse, some few weeks, before the port of Hakodadi would be open to American trading vessels, according to the stipulations of the treaty. On her arrival Japanese guard boats prevented any communication with the shore, without permission of the authorities. No restrictions, however, were in force against the Russians boarding the schooner. On doing so, the officers appointed by the Admiral to ascertain if she had any provisions to dispose of, were gratified to find abundance for their wants. Moreover, the owners of the vessel and cargo were on board, and when the officers offered to charter her to take them and the crew of the lost 'Diana' to Petropaulovski, besides buying all their provisions at a fair price, these speculative traders gladly jumped at the offer, by which they would make a handsome and unexpected profit. The Admiral was no less pleased with the bargain, and having completed his diplomatic mission to the Japanese, gave orders at once to put the guns and gear saved from the wreck on board, and ship all hands for sea. This was effected with due dispatch, and the Russians left the scene of their disasters and arrived at Petropaulovski without any further mishap.

§ 65. *Owners of the schooner, with their wives and families, left at Simoda.*—Besides the two owners, Messrs. Reed and Doty, their wives and families were on board, together with some passengers, so that there were three American ladies and several children among this trading party. Now, the former being the first foreign females that had visited Japan, there was intense curiosity among the natives to get a sight of them; but the authorities were puzzled how to treat them, as it was necessary they should remain on shore at Simoda during the absence of the vessel with her master and crew only. At last

they were assigned a residence in one of the temples least damaged, and, as stipulated in the treaty, which Americans might occupy until they built houses of accommodation for their countrymen visiting the port on business or pleasure. When they landed and took up their abode, the inhabitants were very anxious to see the women and children; but no one was admitted into the temple or grounds without special permission. A guard of four soldiers was stationed at the gate, who kept watch day and night, being relieved every few hours. Near the gate four other men with their officer were stationed in a small house, who transmitted messages to or from the Americans, and made all purchases they required. Though they were thus strictly guarded, yet it was by no means intended that they should be prevented from moving about the town and suburbs, at least the gentlemen of the party were not interfered with. Mr. Reed stated: "In walking into the country, we found that pleasing views invited us from one point to another, from mountain peak to mountain peak, as we admired the strangeness, the richness, and beauty of the land, until we often wandered too far to return the same night, though we started only for a morning walk." Neither was the party disturbed in any of their amusements, for they one evening celebrated a birthday anniversary of one of their number with music and dancing, to which some of the Russian officers were invited. Nor was this all: during the two months and a half that he remained at Simoda, Mr. Reed spent a great part of his time in selecting and purchasing an assortment of merchandise and produce, chiefly consisting of silks, lacquer ware, and rice; which he sold in San Francisco afterwards at a large profit.

§ 66. *Authorities not satisfied with the sojourn of American traders.*—Although these traders were not interfered with by the authorities in their purchases in town, or movements in the suburbs, still they were not satisfied with their indefinite sojourn, and questioned them as to the length of time they intended to remain. Upon this Mr. Doty sent the following letter, dated the 23rd of April:—"I give you in writing the following reason for my sojourn at this place. I arrived in port on the 15th ult., on board the American vessel 'C. E. Foote.' Soon after arrival I was informed that the vessel would sail hence to Heda, and from thence to a foreign port, with the officers and men of the late Russian frigate 'Diana.' Not wishing to make the voyage

with my family, I came on shore, and now must necessarily remain here until the return of our vessel, when it is my intention to leave Simoda. If the vessel should not return after a reasonable time for making the voyage has elapsed, I shall avail myself of the first opportunity that offers to sail direct for the United States of America." In reply to this, the governor sent a communication "To the Americans at Yokushen Temple," in which he recapitulated the substance of this letter, adding :— "According to this declaration you must, on the return of your vessel, leave this place. . . . . Your present stay among us is found necessary, but it cannot in future be taken as an example. Never let it be asked again to stay. It is not only so in this place, but also at Hakodadi, which you and all Americans are obliged to observe." From this it would appear that the Japanese Commissioners did not interpret the article in the treaty stipulating for the "residence" of traders as anything more than temporary; while these American adventurers said, "We know well the interpretation and meaning given to it by our Government. We shall never compromise our Government by saying that we have no right to remain here a week, a month, a year, or even five years, for we know by the treaty we have a perfect right to do so." This was rather a bold assertion for petty ship-chandlers to make, where even their own astute plenipotentiaries were uncertain; illustrating the old adage that "fools rush in where angels fear to tread."

§ 67. *Commander Rodgers arrives and considers the residence question.*—Matters between the traders and the authorities had now assumed an unpleasant aspect, which might have led to complications if the former persevered in their supposed rights of residence. Luckily any disagreeable consequences were avoided by the arrival of the 'Vincennes,' Commander Rodgers, of the United States Surveying Expedition in the North Pacific. The traders laid their claims, demanding permanent residence, before that intelligent officer. He considered the question seriously, taking distinctly the ground that the proper interpretation of the treaty on that head was not confided to him, and could only be settled by the two Governments through their plenipotentiaries. Nevertheless, he addressed a temperate and judicious letter to the authorities, to induce them to put a different construction from that they had adopted upon the "temporary residence" allowed to Americans under the treaty.

They sent a courteous but firm reply, repeating the statement of the Governor, that no resident traders would be allowed either there or at Hakodadi. This decision upset all the calculations of the traders; whose object was to *establish* themselves at that port; to open a permanent commercial agency and supply depôt for whaling ships; and to live in Japan with their families, just as they would live in any European colonial port where they might open a goods store.

§ 68. *They present a letter on the subject to the Governor of Hakodadi.*—Before the privileges sought for by these pioneer traders were granted subsequently to others, further complex negotiations had to be carried on. However, they saw that it would be of no use their settling at Hakodadi, unless they were allowed free and permanent residence. As Commander Rodgers was on his way thither to meet other ships of the surveying squadron, they embraced the opportunity of entrusting to him a letter for the Governor of the place, in which they stated their case, and concluded in these words:—"We have been living here for the past three months, awaiting for the return of our vessel to take us to your place. When it arrives we shall leave Simoda for Hakodadi without delay. On our arrival there we trust your Excellency, in the absence of hotels and inns, will have selected a suitable place for our families to reside, and also to store our goods." In answer to this, the Governor informed Rodgers that unless he stated the exact time, at the utmost a month or so, they would not be allowed to sleep one night on shore, which that cautious officer declined to do.

§ 69. *Japanese authorities refuse indefinite residence to Americans.*—Eight days after the 'Vincennes' had anchored in the bay of Hakodadi the schooner 'Foote' arrived with the owners, their families, and remainder of cargo; being the first American merchant vessel which had entered the port under the treaty. The result was a commercial failure, as Mr. Doty stated that they "were refused permission to land, and ordered away," which they had no other alternative but to obey. It was lucky for the traders that they found the shipwrecked Russians on their way, making such a good freight contract and sale of goods to them, otherwise it would have been a ruinous speculation. On this troublesome question it was said at the time that the authorities did not refuse to allow the Americans on shore, but asked them to name, before landing, some definite

period of remaining. They did, however, object to the traders taking up their abode with their wives and children, to *live* at Hakodadi as long as they pleased; they did object to their opening a warehouse, and it will be conceded that they never meant to bind themselves by the treaty to the concession of such privileges. If they did not, then it would seem that they cannot be chargeable with any breach of faith. One thing seems very certain from the records of the treaty negotiations that the high contracting parties considered that it was but a *beginning* of friendly relations, and a *partial* agreement for trade. Neither party could have believed they were framing a general commercial convention, inasmuch as the Japanese had, at the outset, expressly declined to enter into such a compact. As the treaty stipulations stood at the time of their ratification, when Commander Adams returned with the documents to Washington in the latter part of 1855, it was understood that the views of the United States Government in interpreting the clause concerning "temporary residence" were in accordance with those of the Japanese authorities. Thus the American diplomatists and statesmen resolved on carrying out a just policy towards their new allies.

§ 70. *American narrative to be relied on for accuracy.*—In the foregoing narrative of the American pioneer expedition, some readers may possibly doubt the uniform success of Commodore Perry, his officers and men of the squadron, in establishing such friendly relations with the Government and intercourse with the people, or that these have been exaggerated, as the information has been derived from *ex-parte* statements. It is true that in compiling the leading events related by Dr. Hawks in his voluminous narrative, we have been indebted almost solely to American evidence for the facts, simply because no reporters belonging to any other foreign nationality accompanied the expedition. But there are no reasons for doubting the truthfulness of the narrative, as it contains internal evidence of such, and where there was any approach even to laudable embellishments of this diplomatic achievement, these have been carefully avoided. Moreover, on subsequent inquiry by British diplomatists, and residents at the treaty ports, the circumstances as narrated were substantially proved to be true. Nevertheless, the rather high-flown descriptions of the Japanese dignitaries and their

titles must be taken *cum grano salis.* This, of course, was so far politic that it added to the strength of the treaty when negotiations were carried on with "princes," and the sign-manual of the Emperor attached to it. But it will be seen farther on that they never once came into communication, even by indirect correspondence, with any personage legitimately entitled to such royal appellations. From what transpired afterwards, it is believed that the legitimate monarch and the princes of the Court of Kioto were kept purposely in the background, in order that the treaty might at any time be repudiated, from not being ratified by Imperial authority.

CHAPTER IV.

1856-57.

ATTEMPT OF DUTCH ENVOY TO EXTEND OLD TREATY OF NAGASAKI UNSUCCESSFUL — JAPANESE HATRED OF FRENCH AND PORTUGUESE.

§ 71. Draft of a new Dutch treaty on the American basis rejected. § 72. Memorial on Dutch relations with Japan by a Minister to the King. § 73. Chagrin of the Dutch at the success of the Americans. § 74. Dutch assumption of a liberal policy towards foreigners. § 75. Indictment against the Dutch for their former acts in Japan. § 76. Restrictions on Dutch pratique at Nagasaki relaxed. § 77. Admiral Stirling, with British squadron, at Nagasaki. § 78. Americans take exception to remarks of British naval officers. § 79. Refusal of the Japanese authorities to have any intercourse with the French. § 80. Japanese hatred of the Portuguese. § 81. Simoda fails as an American settlement, and is abandoned. § 82. Eagerness of the Japanese to have a practical knowledge of foreign arts and science. § 83. Government directs attention to the manufacture of arms and ammunition on foreign models. § 84. Foreign diplomatists puzzled as to the nature of the Japanese Government.

§ 71. *Draft of a new Dutch treaty with Japan rejected.*—We now come to note the Dutch transactions during these negotiations, which so completely extinguished their own old exclusive servile treaty. It has been already mentioned that while the American expedition was in progress the representatives of Holland made overtures to Commodore Perry, to use their influence in aiding him to obtain liberal concessions from the Japanese, which he politely declined, and purposely avoided the port of Nagasaki, to show that he had no connection with the semi-prison settlement of De-sima. It appears that the Netherlands' Government sent out orders to their Governor-General at Batavia, requesting that he would appoint a confidential agent to furnish the president of the factory at De-sima with instructions to urge upon the Japanese Government a change in its policy of exclusion, enclosing the draft of a proposed treaty. In that document, article fourth proposes "Trade to be limited to the port of Nagasaki," and also "to be carried on with the privileged Japanese merchants of the five imperial cities—

Yedo, Miako, Osaca, Tahai, and Nagasaki, and placed under the care of the Governor of Nagaski." Article fifth proposed that "the stipulations above-mentioned shall be submitted to every foreign Power that desires to make a treaty with Japan, and shall form the bases of such treaty." Altogether there were six articles, one containing eleven clauses to regulate trade, and another the "most favoured nation" clause. While this was a liberal extension of the old monopoly relations, yet it amounted to a dictation that the Dutch should have the approval of all foreign treaties before being ratified.

§ 72. *Memorial of a Dutch minister to the King on Japan.*— This draft of a treaty was forwarded to the Japanese Government for their consideration, when they snubbed the Dutch chief at De-sima, by refusing to appoint a person of distinction, as requested, to negotiate any treaty at all, or even to revise the old one. In this state of affairs he "rightly resolving not to sacrifice the business to a mere matter of form," as the Dutch document expresses it, at once addressed the Governor of Nagasaki, and attempted to open negotiations with him. He laid before him the several items in the draft of the treaty with which he had been furnished, accompanying them with explanations, and setting forth what he deemed the principles which were for the Japanese interest. To strengthen his arguments he stated in his letter that "His Majesty, the King of the Netherlands, expects that the peace of the Japanese empire can be preserved if the Government of Japan will answer the propositions," as set forth in the draft treaty, that is, favourably. But the Governor refused to entertain the question, and treated the overtures of the head manager at De-sima with some degree of contempt, as coming from a person of no diplomatic rank. These proposals, however, had the effect of quickening the shrewdness of the authorities in prompting them to make a thorough investigation into the subject, as it was evident the time was at hand when the Dutch treaty must be revised on the basis of the one granted to America.

§ 73. *Chagrin of the Dutch at the success of the Americans.*— When the news reached Batavia that the United States, by their costly, well-organized expedition, their naval demonstration in Japanese waters, and the able diplomacy of Commodore Perry, had succeeded in concluding a treaty without their intervention, the Governor-General and his colleagues were greatly

chagrined. Accordingly they deemed it a matter of expediency to maintain some degree of prestige, by despatching the steam frigate 'Soembing' to Nagasaki. This had the desired effect, for the commander and his officers were visited by officials of high rank, who would not deign to notice the then manager at De-sima. Indeed the authorities became so well-disposed towards their old allies, that the frigate during her stay in harbour was made a school of instruction for a large number of officers destined for the future Japanese navy.

§ 74. *Dutch assumption of a liberal policy towards foreigners.* —Notwithstanding this friendly intercourse between the Japanese and the Dutch on board the 'Soembing,' no treaty was negotiated at the time. Nevertheless, they made as much as they could out of the situation in which they were placed, and the Minister of Colonies at the Hague wrote a flattering despatch to the King of the Netherlands, how the influence of their country was great in Japan, in bringing about the new foreign relations inaugurated by the Americans. In that document it is stated—how far consistent with the facts, we leave the reader to judge—that "the Netherlands have understood their mission, when, in consequence of the course of events, they placed themselves at the head to operate, in the interests of all, a mitigation in the system of exclusion that existed relative to foreign nations in Japan. . . . . The United States of North America have obtained, by treaty, the opening of two ports to their flag in the Japanese empire; and one other Power seems to have succeeded in a similar manner. In the face of such results, we cannot deny or undervalue the impression and effect produced by the presence of powerful fleets, or the influence exerted by the simultaneous and serious attempts of different nations. But we wish to see acknowledged the part that the Netherlands had in it by their advice and persuasion. Indeed these fleets realised the predictions of your Majesty's royal father, and served to procure a more ready acceptance of his disinterested advice. . . . . In fact, the Netherlands have always desired an opening of Japanese ports, in the general interest, and in favour of commerce. Attached disinterestedly to that policy, the Netherlands have sought no privileges for themselves in Japan; but they have, in equity, desired and obtained treatment similar to that of others, when to those,

favours were granted." Other statements of a depreciatory character to American energy, and extolling Dutch policy, were made, especially by Dr. von Siebold of De-sima, which naturally gave umbrage to their successful rivals, who were not indebted to them in any way.

§ 75. *Indictment against the Dutch for their acts in Japan.*—Incensed at the ungenerous, not to say untruthful, statements of the Hollanders, Dr. Hawks remarks as follows upon the memorial of the Minister to the King:—"The Dutch have claimed, and that by an official document, that they, in effect, did most of our work for us. It is strange that a nation of which all Christendom has, for more than two hundred years, supposed that it had sought uniformly to secure to itself a monopoly in the trade of Japan, should venture, when their monopoly is destroyed, to stand forth and say, in substance, that they have always lamented its existence and laboured for its demolition. Has Christendom been so long deceived? We fear the world will ask embarrassing questions. It will say: Did not the Dutch do what they could to drive out the Portuguese? Did they not assist in the bombardment of Simabarra, and contribute to the extirpation of the native Christians, who were supposed to sympathise with the Portuguese? Did they not manifest hostility towards their Protestant neighbours of the English factory at Firando, established by Paris and conducted by Cockes, until the English left? When, in the reign of Charles II., the English sought to renew the trade with Japan, was it not the Dutch who hastened to inform the Imperial Government that the wife of Charles was the daughter of the King of Portugal, thus arraying the deep-seated and ancient Japanese hatred of the Portuguese against the English? When the 'Phæton,' under Pellew, visited Nagasaki in 1808, was it not M. Doeff, the Dutch chief at De-sima, who devised and counselled the plan whereby the English were to have been murdered to a man? When Java was in possession of the English, and Holland, for a time, had been blotted from the list of nations, was it not the same M. Doeff, who, to the craft of the trader, added the cunning of the diplomatist, and, by treachery to the Japanese in their bribery of their officials, contrived, at one and the same time, to pay the debts of De-sima and enrich himself personally, out of the two expeditions sent by Sir Stamford Raffles? And *now*, when the United

States have, without seeing a Dutchman, or using a Dutch document successfully negotiated a treaty, Holland stands forth, and by a formal official report from her Minister of Colonies, declares that she will now 'perform the agreeable task of showing the persevering and disinterested efforts which the Dutch Government has made to cause Japan to open her ports to the commerce of the United States.' A brief notice of this extraordinary document is called for by a regard to the truth of history." The foregoing indictment against the Dutch in Japan, for their dishonourable, not to say criminal, acts is a heavy one, but nevertheless it is founded upon historical facts. Had it been our purpose to have gone so far back as the first intercourse of foreigners with Japan, bringing its annals up to the present day, we could have given authentic records of the same.

§ 76. *Restrictions on Dutch pratique at Nagasaki relaxed.*— It was after the ratification of the American treaty that the Dutch man-of-war made its appearance at Nagasaki, which led to a more friendly intercourse between the officials and officers than hitherto subsisted in their relations with their trading countrymen at De-sima. Moreover, as the Japanese had negotiated the preliminaries of a treaty with the Russians, admitting their ships to pratique directly with the inhabitants at the port, they could not deny the same privileges to the 'Soembing.' This led, also, to the restrictions upon the residents at De-sima being gradually relaxed, so that they were permitted to visit the town and suburbs without the expensive and troublesome escort of armed police dogging their footsteps. Nothing, however, was settled in the way of concluding a new treaty or extending the old one, although negotiations towards that end were carried on from time to time with a view to secure greater concessions than the Americans obtained.

§ 77. *Admiral Stirling, with British squadron, at Nagasaki.*— About this time our own naval representatives in Japanese and Chinese waters appeared upon the scene in the person of Admiral Stirling and the captains of the ships comprising the British squadron under his command. That officer visited Nagasaki on several occasions, to forward the interests of the nation in securing similar privileges to those granted to the United States. In 1855 he concluded a convention, or preliminary treaty, to that effect, which was never ratified, as

our Government at the time were in accord with the other great European Powers to obtain further concessions for commercial purposes, and the opening of one or more safer ports for settlements than the dangerous harbour of Simoda and the limited trading port of Hakodadi. During the negotiations of Commodore Perry Admiral Stirling abstained from interfering in any way with his progress, and it was not until several months after the ratification of the treaty that he entered the Bay of Nagasaki with his squadron. This the Americans acknowledge, thereby drawing a contrast between the policy of the British and Dutch; at the same time their sensitiveness was touched by the communication of an officer belonging to the squadron which appeared in the London press disparaging their successes, which was neither true nor courteous.

§ 78. *Americans take exception to remarks of British naval officers.*—On this head Dr. Hawks makes the following statement and comments:—"On the 7th September, 1854, Admiral Stirling, in command of the English squadron, arrived at Nagasaki, one purpose of his visit being to make a treaty, in which he succeeded. But the English never pretended that they facilitated our negotiations; they may possibly have indirectly derived some benefit from our success, but we will not undertake to say they did. We think that they are more indebted to the Japanese apprehensions of Russia's designs, and to the war in which she is engaged, than to anything else. We may, indeed, by having induced the first departure from the long-established rule to exclude all foreigners but the Dutch and Chinese, have made it more easy to commence negotiations; but our aid goes not beyond this accidental assistance. Of the precise terms of the English treaty it is not here necessary to speak. One of the officers of Admiral Stirling thus speaks of it in a public communication through the English newspapers: 'The treaty now made with Japan contains nothing *about commerce*, yet it opens the way and prepares for future negotiation on this important point. . . . . It is highly probable that what has been done by Sir James Stirling at Nagasaki may exceed in durability and value the work done at Yedo by the Americans, although that cost a special mission, and was heralded to the world in a very loud flourish of trumpets indeed.' To this pert outbreak of transparent envy we have only to say that we earnestly hope that

when a treaty is made which *does* say something 'about commerce,' it may prove both durable and valuable to England; and to add that we should be sorry such flippant impertinence as is here exhibited is a common characteristic of British officers. From the brave we look for 'high thoughts seated in a heart of courtesy.'"

§ 79. *Refusal of the authorities to communicate with the French.*—Although the French had a fleet cruising in those seas at that time, yet seldom any of the ships entered Japanese waters; they were fully occupied in the Gulf of Tonquin, bent upon their conquest of Cochin China and forming a great naval colony at Saigon. However, it so happened that one of their vessels put in at Simoda while the 'Powhatan,' American steam-frigate, was there, with Commander Adams on board. She anchored in the outer harbour, and was immediately boarded by the Japanese officials to ascertain her nationality and object in visiting the port. They were informed that she was a French ship, having on board two of their countrymen, sailors, who had been taken off the wreck of a native junk about three years before by an American whaling-ship, from which they were transferred to the French vessel, and were then brought, as an act of humanity, to their own country. On these particulars being communicated to the Governor and his colleagues, they said that Japan having no treaty with France, vessels of that nationality had no right to come there under any pretext. Accordingly, they ordered the captain to take his departure forthwith, refusing him the supplies he wanted, and would not permit any of the inhabitants to go on board of her. They were so punctilious on the score of diplomacy that they positively refused to receive the shipwrecked seamen from the hands of Frenchmen. At the intercession, however, of the American envoy and Captain McCluney, they agreed to receive their distressed countrymen, provided they were put on board the 'Powhatan' and afterwards delivered to them as coming from a man-of-war belonging to the United States, with which country their Government had a treaty. This was readily assented to by the French captain, who at once handed the men over to Captain McCluney and sailed away. After remaining on board that night they were landed next morning and received by the authorities, before whom they underwent a strict examination to find out whether they

had not left the country in a clandestine manner, which would subject them to punishment. Although their accounts of themselves appeared to be satisfactory, yet they were placed under surveillance. Moreover, the European clothing the poor fellows wore was stripped off them, and they were compelled to put on the native dress and shave their heads after the Japanese fashion. It may be remarked here that now the men are obliged to discard the queue, discontinue shaving the head, and ordered to let the hair grow and wear clothes after the foreign style. We may venture also to infer that the French captain thought by delivering up these men that he might make a beginning of friendly relations with the Japanese; but the result showed that at the time they were inimical to France as a Roman Catholic nation.

§ 80. *Japanese hatred of the Portuguese.*—In like manner the Japanese at that time bore an intense hatred against the Portuguese, through the same religious prejudice. To the Jesuit fathers of that nation they ascribed all their difficulties with foreign countries, and their isolation from the world for more than two centuries. In forming these conclusions they were not far wrong; and but for their aggrandizing policy in all probability the Japanese islands would, in these two hundred years, have become as open to external commerce as the British Isles, and Christianity, in its Protestant form, probably a favoured sect in the land. It may be said, indeed, that one of the inducements for the Japanese Government to entertain favourably the overtures of the Americans was the fact of their President stating that "the constitution and laws of the United States forbid all interference with the religious or political concerns of other nations." They soon found out that they were treating with a Government free from the domination of ecclesiastical power; and for the same reason they freely entered into negotiations with Great Britain, by whose influence and *prestige* all other treaty Powers now enjoy liberal intercourse. Of course, France, Portugal, and other Roman Catholic States have come in for the general concessions, but their treaties were reluctantly acceded to.

81. *Simoda fails as an American settlement, and is abandoned.*—In due course the Americans followed up their treaty by opening the port of Simoda to commerce, and establishing a consulate under the control of Mr. Townsend Harris, their

resident Consul-General in Japan. The nucleus of the settlement struggled hard to attain maturity, but it never reached anything more than that of a weakly colony. The place was not suited for commerce, as it was little better than a fishing-village, situated too far from the centres of trade and manufactures to make it profitable as a port for traffic. Moreover, it was found that the anchorage did not recover fresh material for holding-ground, as was at first expected. At least the time was not long enough for sediment to be deposited between the interstices of the rocks at the bottom; consequently, vessels found it to be dangerous ground to lie at anchor, especially when a strong current or gale set in. For upwards of two years the American flag floated its stars and stripes at the head of the bay, but the corresponding flags of trading-vessels were few and far between. The few residents on shore lived like exiles from their native land; for after the novelty of the situation wore away, they felt themselves cut off, as it were, from communion with the outer world, save when some chance vessel called in for supplies. At length they resolved upon abandoning the place for some more favourable port nearer Yedo, and Mr. Harris diligently negotiated the question with the Commissioners, and ultimately his efforts were crowned with success, in conjunction with other treaty Powers, which ended in the foundation of the foreign settlement of Yokohama.

§ 82. *Eagerness of the Japanese to study foreign arts practically.*—Meanwhile the Japanese were not slow to profit by the presence of their new allies. Their most skilful artizans in metallic ware, and others having a natural turn for engineering, were set to work by the Government to study foreign machinery, the steam-engine especially. They had procured many drawings and plans, and established a school for draughtsmen. They soon learned to manage the model locomotive which the President of the United States had sent to the Emperor; they also had the life-boat afloat with a trained crew, but the magnetic telegraph puzzled them at first. Yet in a short time they understood how to work that, and laid short lines of telegraph themselves. These drawings and models not only enabled the students to understand their principles theoretically, but some of them, more ingenious, obtained such a practical knowledge that they superintended the manufacture

of a small marine engine. Then the Government purchased an armed screw steamer, as the precursor of their future navy.

§ 83. *Government directs attention to the manufacture of arms and ammunition on foreign models.*—But it was not the foreign mechanical inventions for peaceful purposes that chiefly attracted the attention of the Government; the engines of war in their estimation were of greater importance. At once they saw and appreciated the superiority of the arms of precision introduced to their notice by the Dutch and Americans over the rude matchlocks and ordnance they possessed, although they justly prized their own sharp swords—equal to the famous Damascus blades in a hand-to-hand conflict. They had witnessed the evolutions of the American marines at Kanagawa, and the manual and platoon exercises they went through gave them some idea of the combined strength of an army trained in foreign military tactics over their own weak, irregular, antiquated system. Before this new era dawned upon the nation, the Government had obtained specimens of small arms and ordnance as presents, or as they were considered *tribute*, from the chief resident of the Dutch factory at De-sima on his periodical visits to Yedo, and these were handed over to the most skilful soldiers to practise their use in the field, which they soon acquired. But the improved rifled cannon, breech-loading rifles and revolvers, presented to the Emperor by President Fillmore, startled the military commanders with their multiplied deadly power in battle. During the three years of comparative internal and external political quiescence recorded in this chapter, they improved the time in making weapons after these models, with a view to arm their troops and man their batteries with guns that could compete against those of the foreigners in the event of an invasion. Accordingly factories were established at Yedo and elsewhere, for the manufacture of arms and ammunition on the new system; and so apt and skilful are the Japanese artisans that they succeeded with their own imperfect tools in turning out weapons of a quality that would bear comparison with those of Western arsenals, having elaborate machinery. These operations were not confined to the arsenal of the *de facto* Government at Yedo, but several of the great *Daimios*, or semi-independent nobles, erected workshops in their own exclusive seaports for the rifles and cannons, while one or two of the wealthiest and most

powerful secretly purchased foreign arms and munitions of war. This was done not only with a view to defend their territories against a foreign enemy, but to keep up their military strength on a par with the army of the Government, which was becoming too powerful in their eyes for their own safety and independence.

§ 84. *Foreign diplomatists puzzled as to the true nature of the Japanese form of Government.*—During this period, also, foreign diplomatists, especially the Americans, ascertained that the Government was of a nature so complicated that they could not get at its true constitution. They were cognizant of the fact that there were two ruling powers, one *de juro* at Kioto, the other *de facto* at Yedo, but which was supreme appeared doubtful; and the studied reticence of the officials made the question more mysterious. Hitherto all their negotiations were with the envoys of the latter ruler, who was stated to be the proper authority with whom to enter into treaties of amity and commerce. But some of the shrewder diplomatists suspected that, although he was a great personage in the state, his authority was not supreme throughout the realm. As this dawned upon the American mind they perceived that their treaty was not made with the Imperial hereditary monarch, or "Mikado," but his subordinate coadjutor, denominated the "Siogoon," whom they now called the "Tycoon;" thereby detracting greatly from its presumed unalterable basis and ratification. Under these circumstances they gladly availed themselves of the stipulations of the comprehensive international treaty concluded by Lord Elgin in 1858, which was afterwards ratified by the Mikado, and has regulated all foreign intercourse with Japan up to the present time, though it is now open to revisal.

CHAPTER V.

1858.

GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE CONCLUDE TREATIES OPENING THE PORTS OF KANGAWA, NAGASAKI, HAKODADI, HIOGO, OSAKA, AND NEE-E-GATA — DEATH OF THE "TYCOON," OR SIOGOON.

§ 85. Lord Elgin leaves China for Japan on a diplomatic mission. § 86. Arrival of the British expedition at Nagasaki. § 87. Lord Elgin proceeds to the Gulf of Yedo in a yacht. § 88. Arrival at the port of Simoda. § 89. American envoy negotiates a new Treaty. § 90. Oliphant's account of Simoda. § 91. Lord Elgin in H.M.S. 'Furious' anchors off the city of Yedo. § 92. Five Commissioners appointed to negotiate with Lord Elgin. § 93. Landing of the Embassy, and procession in state. § 94. Members of Embassy quartered in a temple at Yedo. § 95. System of municipal government in Japan. § 96. Imperial Government imperfectly understood by foreigners. § 97. Lord Elgin has an audience with two ministers of state. § 98. Curious refreshment and attendance at the interview. § 99. Return of the Embassy by lantern-light. § 100. Exchange of full powers between the diplomatists. § 101. The British treaty of Yedo signed, sealed, and delivered. § 102. Delivery of steam yacht from the Queen to the Emperor. § 103. General policy and stipulations of the treaty. § 104. French Embassy leaves China for Japan. § 105. Hospitable reception at Simoda. § 106. Death of the "Tycoon" officially announced to the French. § 107. Cool reception of the French Embassy at Yedo. § 108. Baron Gros and suite take up their residence at a temple in the capital. § 109. The French treaty concluded on the same basis as the British. § 110. Departure of the French Embassy from Japan.

§ 85. *Lord Elgin leaves China for Japan on a diplomatic mission.* —On the 26th of June, 1858, the treaty between China and Great Britain, negotiated by the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, was signed at Tientsin. In one of the articles a clause was introduced providing for the exchange of ratifications at Peking, within one year from the date of signature. After having so far satisfactorily carried out his instructions from the Palmerston Government of the day, His Excellency proceeded to carry out the policy of that distinguished statesman, by negotiating a treaty with Japan upon a similar basis. Preliminary to acting upon his instructions from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, he allowed a sufficient time to

transpire for the news of his success in China to reach the authorities in Japan, presuming that it would strengthen his mission there—which had the desired effect. Accordingly he took his departure from Shanghai for Nagasaki on the 1st of August, with the 'Furious' and 'Retribution' steam frigates, the gunboat 'Lee,' and the 'Emperor,' a small steam yacht sent by Her Majesty as a present to the so-called "Temporal Emperor" of Japan.

§ 86. *Arrival of the British expedition at Nagasaki.*—After a pleasant voyage of about four hundred and fifty miles, the squadron arrived in the Bay of Nagasaki on the third of the month. As they entered the picturesque harbour, all on board were charmed with the beauty of the scenery, and the officers were gratified to find that the humbling restrictions as to pratique were no longer in force by armed police in guard-boats, and that the barriers at the place for anchoring were removed. A Dutch merchant ship and a Japanese man-of-war were the only foreign-rigged vessels in port, but the bay swarmed with Japanese boats. On landing at De-sima the officers were cordially received by the secretary of the chief superintendent, Mynheer Donker Curtius, who was at the time absent on a diplomatic visit to Yedo. They were delighted to learn from him that all former restrictions limiting the exploration of foreigners to De-sima, or subjecting them to the most annoying formalities in case of their wishing to go into Nagasaki, were removed, and that they were at liberty to ramble unrestrained wheresoever they pleased. Accordingly a party from the 'Furious' went on shore in the afternoon, and explored at pleasure the streets and shops in the town, the former being broad, clean, and free from foul odours, the latter stocked with tempting articles of china and lacquer-ware, and the people everywhere civil and courteous.

§ 87. *Lord Elgin proceeds to the Gulf of Yedo in the yacht.*—The stay of the squadron at Nagasaki was cut short by the arrival of H.M.S. 'Calcutta,' with the flag of Admiral Sir James Hope at the fore, who ordered the immediate departure of the ships with the yacht to Yedo Bay. It had been his intention to hand over the latter himself, but urgent public affairs required his presence at Canton. Under the circumstances, it was arranged that Lord Elgin should proceed with the yacht to Yedo, as it was evidently desirable that no time

should be lost in proceeding upon this mission. The squadron had scarcely got out of the bay when a violent storm arose which compelled the ships to remain at anchor until it was over. This delayed the voyage several days, so that not till the 10th did they sight the snow-streaked crest of Fusi Yama, from the outer entrance of the Gulf of Yedo.

§ 88. *Arrival of Lord Elgin at the Port of Simoda.*—The little steamer 'Emperor' was safely navigated into the harbour of Simoda; where Lord Elgin lost no time in landing with his secretary, Mr. Oliphant, to pay Mr. Townsend Harris, the American Consul, a visit. They found that gentleman and his secretary, Mr. Hewskin, occupying a most delightfully situated residence, with a well-stored library, and a few rooms comfortably fitted up, giving an agreeable air of Western civilization to the establishment; "but what can compensate for two years of almost entire isolation and banishment from communion with one's fellow men? Except upon the rare occasions of Simoda being visited by some foreign vessel, these two gentlemen had not seen a creature with whom they could exchange an idea. They had been for eighteen months without receiving a letter or a newspaper, and two years without tasting mutton—sheep being an animal unknown in Japan. Still this exile had not the effect of disgusting them with the country of their banishment. Mr. Harris spoke in terms even more eulogistic than those universally employed by the Dutch, of the Japanese people. His residence among them, under circumstances which compelled him to form intimate relations with them—for they were his only companions—only served to increase his high opinion of their amiable qualities and charming natural dispositions."*

§ 89. *The American Consul-General negotiates a new treaty.*—Mr. Harris had only recently returned from Yedo, where he had just succeeded in negotiating a more favourable treaty with the Japanese Government. He had passed some months in that city, during which time both he and Mr. Donker Curtius had been engaged in fruitless efforts to induce the Government to accede to their terms. In 1855, the latter gentleman had concluded a mercantile arrangement, by which certain concessions were allowed to foreigners; "but the cumbersome

* 'Narrative of Lord Elgin's Mission to China and Japan,' by L. Oliphant.

machinery of the Geldkammer was still retained, and the monopoly of the trade was reserved to the Japanese Government under conditions which rendered the concessions worthless to nations engaged in commerce upon enlightened principles. Mr. Harris, however, was determined to make a treaty worthy the progressive people whom he represented; and Mr. Donker Curtius, finding him so engaged, repaired to Yedo, determined if possible not to be outdone. It so happened that his precautions were unavailing. Finding the Japanese Cabinet inexorable both gentlemen left in despair—Mr. Donker Curtius, upon a long overland journey of two months to Nagasaki, Mr. Harris to return to Simoda. He had scarcely reached it, however, before the 'Powhatan' arrived with intelligence of the treaty of Tientsin. Mr. Harris then lost not a moment in himself carrying the news of this to the capital, and while Mr. Donker Curtius was journeying laboriously to Nagasaki, ignorant of the great events which had taken place, his rival had signed his treaty and was back again at Simoda reposing on his laurels."*

§ 90. *Mr. Oliphant's opinion of Simoda as a treaty port.*—"Simoda is a mean place compared with Nagasaki; and it is difficult to conceive why Commodore Perry should have fixed upon it as a port. Even in those days it was little more than a fishing village, and since then it has been visited by an earthquake, from the effects of which neither town nor harbour has yet recovered. Always exposed, even when the anchorage was tolerable, there is now no holding-ground in the event of a storm, so completely did that terrible convulsion of nature change the surface of the bottom. The town, which is situated at the debouching of the river into the sea, is composed of a few mean streets, running at right angles to each other, and contains, probably, from three to four thousand inhabitants. At one corner of it is a bazaar, established for the benefit of foreigners, containing lacquer of a superior description to that exhibited at Nagasaki, and sundry articles of native manufacture I had observed before."† Under the new treaty Kanagawa, or rather Yokohama, was substituted for Simoda, which ceased to be an open port, and it was abandoned by the Americans.

---

* Oliphant's Narrative. † Ibid.

§ 91. *Lord Elgin in the 'Furious' anchors off the city of Yedo.*—The British expedition experienced great civility and kindness from the United States Consul during its short stay at Simoda, but were more especially indebted to him for the liberality with which he supplied a most important deficiency in placing at Lord Elgin's disposal the services of his excellent Dutch interpreter, Mr. Hewskin—that being the only language used by the Japanese in their communications with foreigners, but which is now superseded by English. His lordship went on board the 'Furious,' and left Simoda at daylight on the morning of the 12th August. About noon she was abreast of Kanagawa, where a Russian squadron, under Admiral Count Poutiatine, was seen at anchor. Instead of bringing up there, Lord Elgin determined to adopt the unprecedented course of sailing straight up to the capital, believing that, if the achievement were feasible, it would not only save valuable time, but that the presence of our ships there would produce a more salutary effect upon the Government, and in all probability tend to facilitate negotiations. On they steamed steadily, doubting whether the undertaking was practicable, when they descried some large square-rigged ships at the anchorage off the great city, which satisfied them that it was equally safe for their vessels. These were war-ships purchased by the Japanese from foreigners, with foreign engineers on board, as they had no natives sufficiently skilled to take charge of the engines; their first attempt being unsuccessful, as they could not stop them when once set going, the steamer was steered in a circle round the bay until the steam became expended. By two o'clock the two frigates and the yacht were anchored not far from the Japanese fleet, at a distance of about three miles from the shore, and five from the capital of the empire.

§ 92. *Five Commissioners appointed to negotiate with Lord Elgin.*—Immediately the ships came to an anchor they were boarded by officials, who insisted that they should go back down the gulf to Kanagawa. Not only were their protestations unheeded, but the vessels were moved within a mile and a half of the shore, lying off the suburb of Sinagawa, where the British Legation was afterwards situated. Lord Elgin lost no time in sending a letter on shore to the Prime Minister, stating that he had come to make a treaty, and to present a yacht to the Em-

peror, also requesting that he might be furnished with a suitable residence on shore. While the authorities were considering what course they should adopt, pleasure parties from the city came to look at the ships and their crews. Boat-loads of ladies, with a great deal of white powder on their cheeks, lips painted a brilliant vermilion, and some with teeth hideously dyed black, gazed on the strangers with the utmost interest and delight, making apparently witty remarks and then laughing immoderately. They were not at all shy, like Chinese ladies, but peeped in at the port-holes with the greatest curiosity and inquisitiveness. On the following day, five Commissioners came off to complete the arrangements for the ambassador and his suite taking up their residence on shore. These gentlemen were accompanied by a most intelligent interpreter, who wrote and spoke Dutch with almost as much facility as Japanese, and was the means of communication between Mr. Hewskin and the Commissioners.

§ 93. *Landing of the Ambassador, and procession in state.*—On the 17th of August the British Ambassador landed in state from the gun-boat 'Lee,' in company with the greater number of the officers of the squadron, all in full uniform, and with thirteen ships' boats in tow, looking spruce and gay, with their neat crews, and ensigns flying. The landing-place was about the central part of the city on its marine boundary, which is here protected along the sea-face by green mound batteries. Here also was an enclosure into which the public were not admitted, and numerous horses, *cangos*, and *norimons*, or palanquins, awaiting to convey the dignitaries into the city. These formed into a procession, which was by no means unpicturesque. "In front marched a pompous official, accompanied by a man carrying a spear, the badge of authority. He was closely followed by a knot of officials in a neat costume of a coarse-looking black gauze, like thick mosquito-curtains. On their backs or shoulders was stamped the Imperial trefoil, or the private arms of the owner. Some were dressed exactly alike, others wore blue and white dresses; but every individual was evidently in a uniform befitting his rank and position. . . . . On each side of the procession walked policemen in a sort of harlequin costume, composed of as many colours as if their dress was made from a patchwork counterpane. Each of these men carried iron rods six or seven feet long, from the top of

which depended a quantity of iron rings. Every time that this rod was brought to the ground with the jerk of authority it emitted a loud jingle, which was heard far and wide through the crowd, and was respected by them accordingly."* Behind this vanguard came the Ambassador and suite, some on horseback and some in norimons; while more men in black gauze, and variegated policemen, and others bearing canopies aloft, brought up the rear. When the procession passed from the enclosure into the streets, the inhabitants, men, women, and children, rushed out in a state of great excitement to see it pass. "There were mothers with small babies hanging over their shoulders, reckless of their progeny, hastening to swell the crowd; children dodging under old people's legs, and old people tottering after children; and bathers of both sexes, regardless of the fact that they had nothing on but soap, or the Japanese substitute for it, crowding the doorways."†

§ 94. *Members of the Mission quartered in a temple.*—For at least two miles the procession passed between two rows of human beings, six or eight deep, until it arrived at the future ambassadorial residence. This was part of the building and grounds of a Buddhist temple, in which apartments were fitted up after the foreign style, and it was quite wonderful how speedily they had forestalled the wants of their European guests. It appears that they were first made acquainted with these requirements in the matter of furniture through the American furnishings at Simoda, which they ingeniously copied; so that the members of the mission were delighted to find, not only beds, but mattresses, and mosquito-curtains and comfortable dressing-gowns in a city where all such articles had been previously unknown. The Governor of the city, being responsible for the safety as well as good behaviour of the members of the mission, set an armed guard ostensibly to protect them, but really to act as spies upon their movements. However, they were allowed to ramble through the city, though always accompanied by a Japanese escort.

§ 95. *System of municipal government in Japan.*—"The whole system of municipal government in the cities in Japan seems very perfect. There is a mayor or governor, some of whose emissaries lived in our ante-chamber; and there are a certain

* Oliphant's Narrative. † Ibid.

number of deputies to assist him, and a class of officials who seem to be the intermediaries between the people and those in authority, and whose business it is to receive and present petitions, and to forward complaints to the governors, and plead the cause of the aggrieved memorialists. Then every street has its magistrate, who is expected to settle all disputes, to know the most minute details of the private and public affairs of every creature within his jurisdiction, as reported to him by spies, and to keep an accurate record of births, deaths, and marriages. He is responsible for all broils and disturbances, and for the good conduct of the street generally. This functionary is also provided with deputies, and is elected by the popular voice of the inhabitants of the street. To render the last easier, the male householders are divided into small companies of four or five each, the head of which is responsible to the magistrate for all the proceedings of the members. This complete organization is furnished with a secretary, a treasurer, a certain number of messengers, &c. Besides the regular constables, it is patrolled at night by the inhabitants themselves, in parties of two or three. From all which, it would appear that "our street," in a Japanese city, must be a source of considerable interest and occupation of the inhabitants.* Since then considerable changes have taken place in this system, and the elements of our own municipalities partly introduced by the Governor of Yedo, who visited London.

§ 96. *System of government imperfectly understood by foreigners.* —At this point of his narrative Mr. Oliphant gives what he calls "a brief sketch of the system of government of Japan, although gathered from somewhat imperfect sources." From what subsequently transpired, that account is erroneous in some of its most important features, showing that up to this time foreign diplomatists were greatly in the dark as to the status of the functionaries with whom they were negotiating. At the same time there was nothing outwardly to show but what they were in communication with the ostensible "Administrator of the Empire," and his "Council of State," composed of five "Princes." Lord Elgin requested to have an audience of the "Tycoon," as he was designated by the Americans, but an excuse was made that he was seriously ill at the time, if not *in*

* Oliphant's Narrative.

extremis, or actually dead, as was afterwards stated. He had therefore to be satisfied with an audience of the two senior members of the cabinet, to whom were committed the control of foreign affairs, in addition to their other functions.

§ 97. *Lord Elgin has an audience with two ministers of state.* —The place of audience was within the precincts of the imperial residence or citadel, situated on a height in the most central part of Yedo, and about five miles distant from the temple occupied by the Embassy. This gave the members of it an opportunity of seeing much that was novel, but it was rather a tiresome journey of two hours, from five to seven o'clock in the evening. By this time it was getting dark, so the room into which they were ushered was lighted up by two rows of wax candles on elevated stands, behind which were low square tables. At these the two ministers stood on one side and the British envoy on the other, with the native interpreter prostrate on the floor between them, while the suites of both ranged themselves behind their respective chiefs. After saluting each other with the usual complimentary expressions, all retired, except Lord Elgin, Mr. Oliphant, and Mr. Hewskin, who sat down on chairs and proceeded to business with the ministers. They opened the conversation by inquiring when the yacht would be presented, and were informed that it would be delivered immediately after the treaty was signed. Then followed a long discussion on the subject of the "full powers" each possessed to negotiate for their sovereigns, at the close of which Lord Elgin appeared to be satisfied with the *status* of the ministers, and it was arranged that the interchange should take place on the following day.

§ 98. *Curious refreshment and attendance at the interview.*— "While this was going on," says Mr. Oliphant, "a train of youths entered, bearing pipes and tea. They were all dressed simply and uniformly; indeed, so exactly did they resemble each other, that they must have been selected as good matches. They entered with an air of profound respect, the head slightly bent, the eyes fixed on the ground, and moved with a shuffling gait, as though afraid to lift their feet from the floor. During the period of our visit these young men were constantly coming in with refreshment, and as they never looked up, it was always a matter of wonder to me how they found their way; while the monotonous regularity of their movements was quite painful.

Notwithstanding which, it must be admitted that the manners of flunkeys in Japan are infinitely more agreeable than those of the same class in our own country. After the ordinary tea, we were supplied with a beverage peculiar to the upper classes of Japan: this consists 'of a sort of' *purée* made of the tea-leaves themselves. They are first stewed, then dried, and ground in a hand-mill into a powder; this is mixed with hot water, and whipped with split bamboo until it creams. It is served up hot, and looks like physic. Altogether, I thought it more palatable than senna." As a rule Japanese teas are not so strong as Chinese, but they possess a much more delicate flavour.

§ 99. *Return of the Embassy by lantern-light.*—"Our audience having at last come to an end, we took leave, with many profound bows and polite speeches, and returned to our norimons, our companions having in the mean time been feasted with tea and sweetmeats in an adjoining room. I was not sorry for the opportunity of passing through the streets of Yedo by night. The effect of our procession was very picturesque. In addition to the jingling police, we were accompanied by men bearing on high huge lanterns attached to poles. Pretty lamps, painted in bright colours and covered with quaint devices, hung in clusters over the shops, illuminated the bath-houses, flared over street-stalls, or depended from ropes slung across the side-streets. As the crowd seemed even more dense than in the daytime, the brilliant glare lit up their eager, curious faces and half-clad figures, and imparted a wild, uncouth aspect to the scene. It was nearly ten o'clock at night before we reached home, and we had as yet no reason to reproach ourselves with idleness or inactivity."

§ 100. *Exchange of full powers between the Earl of Elgin and the Japanese Commissioners.*—As arranged, the exchange of full powers and commencement of negotiations took place on the following day at the temple-residence of the Embassy. The Commissioners arrived in the forenoon, and, before proceeding to business, were invited to a luncheon consisting chiefly of European viands and liquors. In their eyes the *pièce de resistance* was an English ham, of which they ate plentifully, and indulged freely in French champagne. So conscious were they of the risk attending these libations, that one of them facetiously expressed a hope that the treaty would not taste of ham and champagne. There were six Commissioners, and all of them entered upon the conference, not only in a friendly way,

but in a laughing, jocular manner, scarcely appropriate for the gravity of the occasion. Nevertheless, they never lost their shrewdness in considering the details of the business in hand.

§ 101. *The British Treaty of Yedo signed, sealed, and delivered.*—These conferences were carried on for several days, sometimes at the Commissioners' offices and sometimes at the Ambassador's quarters. They were invariably characterized by the utmost harmony and good-humour, especially when at the latter the Japanese were regaled with ham and champagne. At length the terms of each clause in the new treaty being separately discussed and settled, it was ready for signature on the 26th of August. "The signing of the treaty," says Mr. Oliphant, "was a most solemn and serious operation, inasmuch as there were copies made in Dutch, Japanese, and English, of which each were in triplicate, and each required the signatures of Lord Elgin and the six Commissioners, besides sundry additional clauses to be signed separately; no fewer than eighty-four signatures had to be appended. . . . . The process of sealing, unknown to them, created a good deal of interest and curiosity; and afterwards, when Lord Elgin proposed an interchange of pens, he having purposely made use of six different ones, the Admiral (Japanese) appropriately remarked that he gladly availed himself of this opportunity of inaugurating the interchange of the products of the two countries, which he trusted might ever be marked with that interchange of good feeling which had characterized our mutual intercourse hitherto." After the treaty was signed, it was found that a grand banquet had been provided by the Tycoon, which all the members of the British Embassy partook of before proceeding on board the squadron.

§ 102. *Delivery of the steam-yacht to the Commissioners.*—Now that the treaty was signed, it remained only to deliver the yacht 'Emperor' over to the Commissioners the afternoon of the same day. "It happened to be Prince Albert's birthday, and the usual salutes had already been fired, the ships remaining dressed out all day. In one of the Japanese forts no small amount of excitement reigned. For the first time in the annals of Japan a salute was to be fired in honour of a foreign flag." Lord Elgin proceeded on board the yacht, where he found the Commissioners awaiting him, all dressed in their most gorgeous robes. He then "formally addressed them,

handing over, on behalf of her Majesty, the yacht which she had presented to the Tycoon as a token of friendship and good-will. Then down came the English ensign and up went the red ball on the white ground, the signal for the forts to salute. . . . . With perfect precision the native gunners fired twenty-one guns, with an interval of ten minutes between each. Then came the sharp ringing response from the 68-pounders of the 'Retribution' and 'Furious;' and the yacht got slowly under weigh, commanded by a Japanese captain, manned by Japanese sailors, and her machinery worked by Japanese engineers." The weather was lovely; the bay was alive with pleasure-boats, the wonder-struck Japanese listening to their own forts firing a salute, while the yacht steamed gallantly through the fleet, the admiration of all beholders ashore and afloat. Many-coloured flags fluttered in the breeze, and hundreds of boats flitted to and fro on the still waters, while the green-wooded shores of the bay were lined with spectators. A brilliant sunset added its glories to this attractive scene in the foreground; "while rearing its conical summit far into the blue sky, old Fusiyama formed a noble background to a picture such as had never before been witnessed in the course of the many centuries during which this majestic peak has presided over the capital of Dai Nip-pon." After partaking of a sumptuous banquet on board the 'Retribution,' the high contracting parties and their subordinates bade each other farewell in the most friendly manner. "As night closed in, the golden sun was followed by a moon which had borrowed a lustre from the reflected rays of the luminary it rivalled. Then rockets shot into the heavens, and blue-lights burnt at the yard-arms, and the rows of forts were illuminated in quick reply. The long day was over at last, and with it we felt," Mr. Oliphant remarks in conclusion, "that our Japanese experiences had finally terminated. They had been marked by an interest and a novelty not to be surpassed, and by a success, in a political point of view, scarcely to have been anticipated. The 26th of August, 1858, will be a date to be remembered by all of us who shared in the singular and interesting proceedings of that day; but it will be an epoch in the history of the Japanese empire, and in centuries to come natives and foreigners will alike record with interest the anniversary of an event pregnant with such important results to commerce and civilization."

§ 103. *General character of the British Treaty of Yedo.*—In its general provisions the Elgin Treaty with Japan is far more comprehensive and contains many more concessions than the one concluded by Commodore Perry or its subsequent extension by Consul Harris on behalf of the United States; but the Americans immediately claimed any extra stipulations under the "favoured nation" clause. These may be briefly summed up as follows:—Diplomatic agent to reside at Yedo, and have the right to travel freely to any part of the realm; consuls to reside at all the treaty ports; Hakodadi, Kanagawa, and Nagasaki to be open to British subjects on the 1st of July, 1859, Nee-e-gata in 1860, Hiogo and Osaka in 1863, and allowed to build residences on grounds allotted, &c.; British subjects to be under the jurisdiction of their authorities only, but disputes between them and Japanese to be jointly adjudicated with the native authorities; British subjects to be allowed the free exercise of their religion; they shall be at liberty to trade, paying duties according to tariff affixed to treaty; treaty may be revised, by giving a year's notice, after July, 1872, and British entitled to "favoured nation" clause. Altogether, it comprised twenty-four articles of the most independent and honourable character, and presented a striking contrast to the servile Dutch treaty, which even then was not abrogated. Since then the Elgin treaty has undergone some alteration, but not so as to change its original purport.

§ 104. *French Embassy leaves China for Japan.*—On the return of the British Embassy to China much interest was manifested by the representatives of all nationalities at the large measure of success secured by the Elgin treaty of Yedo, in which they would ultimately share. This was especially the case with the French, who were our allies in the war which concluded the Treaty of Tientsin. Lord Elgin arrived at Shanghai on September 3rd, where Baron Gros, the French Ambassador, was preparing to start on a similar mission. He had at his disposal only two vessels of the Imperial navy, the sloop-of-war 'Laplace,' and the despatch-boat 'Prégent,' to which he added the 'Remi,' a small trading steamer, chartered for the purpose. These vessels took their departure on the 6th, having on board the Ambassador; the Marquis des Moges, attaché to the mission; and the Abbé Mermet, as Japanese interpreter. Compared with the British expedition, it was

neither imposing in appearance nor in means for the object in view, as there was no yacht to be presented to the Tycoon,

§ 105. *Hospitable reception of the Embassy at Simoda.*—After a tedious passage of nine days this *petit* squadron cast anchor in the Bay of Simoda, and remained there five days. During their stay the members of the Embassy were courteously received by the authorities, and there was the usual interchange of hospitalities ashore and afloat. Their intercourse with the inhabitants was also very cordial, and no restrictions were placed upon their movements. They went on shore at any time, and were frankly received everywhere. At the bazaar large purchases were made of articles which peculiarly delighted French tastes. The Ambassador, his secretaries and attachés, the officers, the very sailors, being delighted with the exhibition. All day long there were boats continually plying to and from the shore and the ships, and when they left it was estimated that about twelve hundred pounds sterling had been spent on purchases of lacquer ware and porcelain.

§ 106. *Death of the Tycoon officially announced to the French.*—On the evening before their departure, the Governor sent two of his officers in full dress to the ambassador to announce to him officially the death of the Tycoon, and accordingly the flags were lowered to half-mast high. This important news was stated to have come from Yedo that morning, and at first it was supposed that he had just died. It transpired, however, that he had been dead some twenty days, if not longer, as it was the custom of the country to keep such an event a profound secret for six weeks, until the successor was firmly seated on the vacant throne and all possibility of any disputes with reference to it removed. In that case he must have been defunct during the whole time of the negotiations with the British Embassy. Consequently the jocose Commissioners must have manifested their hilarity at the "feast of reason and the flow of soul" while the body of their august master was lying in state in some secret chamber of his castle, where several of the conferences were held. When he died he was only thirty-five years of age, and his successor—an adopted son—in his thirteenth year, so it was a Council of Regency who governed. At least that was the rumour at the time, but the real position of affairs was never divulged to foreigners.

§ 107. *Cool reception of the French Embassy at Yedo.*—

Whether on account of the death of the Tycoon or from other causes, the French did not meet with that cordial reception from the functionaries at Yedo which was accorded to the British. The Marquis de Moges, in his narrative of the mission, says: "The cold politeness of these distinguished officials made us regret the frank good-nature of the inhabitants of Simoda. The firm resolution come to by Baron Gros to go on shore, to live in the city of Yedo, and to negotiate his treaty there, excited the strongest opposition on the part of these functionaries, and gave rise to interminable discussions. The death of the Emperor would prevent, they said, the French Embassy from being received with all the distinction which the Court of Yedo would have liked to confer upon it, had it not arrived at a time of mourning. If they wished honour done them they must, according to Japanese custom, wait forty days. Baron Gros said that he would dispense with anything of the kind. Our presence in town, they said, would cause trouble; it would collect crowds that might do us some harm. The ambassador said it seemed to him to be the duty of the Japanese authorities to prevent anything of this kind from happening. Cholera was then raging at Yedo; three thousand persons had died, and three hundred were dying every day: why should we expose our lives by coming into town at such a time? Baron Gros replied that we were acquainted with cholera, that it also existed in France, and that we were not all frightened about it. . . . . At length, after three days of tiresome delay, we were permitted to disembark at the city of Yedo."

§ 108. *Baron Gros and suite take up their residence in a Temple.*—The landing of the ambassador and his suite was anything but dignified. At the time it was ebb-tide, and the boats could not reach the shore; so that they had to get into a fishing-boat, and then climb up a ladder to reach dry land. This brought them to the enclosure already described, where an escort of armed men and police, with jingling staffs, formed in procession and accompanied them to their residence. It was a Buddhist temple situated at the foot of a wooded hill, further into the town than the one occupied by the British Embassy, and overlooked part of the city and bay. Scarcely had they arrived when the six Commissioners made their appearance, and were now more conciliatory in their manner

than at first. Preliminary negotiations were shortly afterwards entered upon, while a sumptuous repast was served with a present of fruit from the new Tycoon, consisting of grapes, pears, and chestnuts. Matters proceeded more smoothly after this, and the members of the Embassy were allowed to perambulate the city and suburbs.

§ 109. *The French treaty concluded on the basis of the British.* —From the experience the Commissioners had in negotiating the British and American treaties, the conferences with Baron Gros were conducted with great despatch. Five of these were the same plenipotentiaries the British Ambassador treated with, but the sixth was a different personage. The French noted that he was remarkably quiet. "Indeed," says the Marquis, "he never opened his mouth, even in the midst of the most animated discussion. He listened, but never expressed an opinion. We set him down accordingly as a personage of no great ability. What was our surprise then when we found out what his functions were! He was a most important personage. We saw his card one day, and from it we learned that he took the title of 'Imperial Spy,' or, literally, 'man on watch to report to the Emperor.'" Each of the others entered into discussion on the articles of the treaty with arguments of his own, and the French had more than once to admire the acuteness and ability they displayed. At length, after ten conferences, the treaty was signed on the 9th of October, to the satisfaction of all the high contracting parties. In its leading articles it is almost identical in terms with the American and British treaties, therefore it is not necessary to refer further to it.

§ 110. *Departure of the French Embassy from Japan.*—There was no great interchange of presents between the French and Japanese, as on the conclusion of the American and British treaties. Perhaps this added to the coolness of their reception, as the functionaries are fully alive to these substantial marks of amity, and generally succeed in having the best of the bargain. However, by the time the Baron and his suite were ready to go on board, they parted on the best of terms. On their return to China the vessels put into Nagasaki, where two small war steamers were at anchor, which the Dutch Government had sold to the Japanese Government.

CHAPTER VI.*

ANNALS OF MEDIEVAL ENGLAND AND JAPAN SIMILAR—COMPLICATED IMPERIAL AND FEUDAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT UP TO THE PERIOD OF NEGOTIATING TREATIES WITH FOREIGN POWERS.

§ 111. Remarkable similitude between the annals of Japan and England. § 112. Erroneous views formerly entertained concerning the rulers of the Japanese. § 113. Relative rank and power of the Mikado and Siogoon compared. § 114. Reasons for objecting to the title "Emperor of Japan." § 115. Comparative inferiority of Japan to China in power, resources, and population. § 116. Power of the Siogoon over the Daimios at his court of Yedo. § 117. Origin and hereditary rank of the Siogoons. § 118. Rank and power of the feudal nobility or Daimios. § 119. Enormous annual revenues of the superior class of Daimios. § 120. Heraldic insignia worn by the Daimios and their retainers. § 121. Soldiery of the Siogoon and feudal retainers form the army under his command. § 122. Inferior grade of the privileged class eligible for civil appointments.

§ 111. *Remarkable similitude between the annals of Japan and England.*—Japan, as already stated, is frequently designated the "Britain of the East." The group of islands forming its dominion approximates in area to that of the British Isles; and its insular position in relation to the Asiatic continent is much the same as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to the continent of Europe. Moreover, the progressive civilization of the Government and the wealthier classes of the people, compared with neighbouring nations, and their desire to become a strong naval Power, gives the nation some of those characteristics which have raised Britain to its eminence among European States. But that which directs our attention to those islands of the "far East," as a topic of special interest for our consideration, is the revolution that has taken place in their political condition within the past fourteen years. Since the rulers of the country entered into treaty relations with us, events have transpired, and are still passing, in Japan, that

* The subject matter of this chapter appeared in the 'Leisure Hour' for 1872.

present remarkable similitude to the annals of England during the earlier portion of the thirteenth century, when the feudal barons struggled to maintain their supremacy in the government of the realm. As they united with their armed followers to secure certain privileges for their order from King John, when he was coerced to sign the famous Magna Charta, so the daimios, or barons of Japan, revolted against their sovereign with armies of feudal retainers, and by seizing the person of the Mikado or King, coerced him into a change of government, and secured rights and privileges equivalent to those contained in that great Act. With these resemblances between the two countries, the political and social condition of Japan has peculiar interest for the English reader, especially now that the Government has unequivocally entered the comity of nations. Bearing in mind such generalities of times and places as we have pointed out, without being too precise in matters of detail, a better idea will be formed of the rise and progress of the revolution in Japan than if the attendant circumstances were tested by any modern revolution in European States. At the outset, it is necessary to explain the relations between the monarch and his nobility, a subject on which much error prevails.

§ 112. *Erroneous views formerly entertained concerning the rulers of the Japanese.*—From the exclusive policy which the Japanese Government has hitherto adopted towards foreigners much mystery has enveloped the person and power of the sovereign and his subordinate rulers. These points have been cleared up by the events of a revolution in the State, by which a subsidiary government, after an existence of about three centuries, has been entirely abolished. Hitherto it was supposed that the supreme power in the realm was vested in two personages; who, in the absence of more precise information, were designated by foreigners the "Spiritual Emperor" and the "Temporal Emperor." The former was said to be a sacred personage, occupied solely in ecclesiastical affairs, who spurned the temporalities of this world; while the latter conducted the temporal affairs on his own responsibility as sovereign ruler over the nobles and people. Not only was this view of the system of Government in Japan generally entertained, and may be so still by persons not otherwise informed, but the representatives of the leading European Powers and the United States of America actually signed and ratified

solemn treaties with the "Temporal Emperor," in the full belief that he was the real sovereign of the country. It does not say much for the astuteness of foreign ambassadors that they should have been deceived in this matter. Evidently they acted on the belief that Kœmpfer's erroneous account of the divided sovereignty was correct, especially as verified by the Dutch residents at Nagasaki for upwards of two centuries; who knew less of the true nature of the Government during that period than was ascertained by the British in a few years after the negotiation of Lord Elgin's Treaty of Yedo in 1858.

§ 113. *Relative ranks of the Siogoon and Mikado compared.*— That treaty was made with the supposed "Temporal Emperor," designated "His Majesty the Tycoon" in the articles of convention, but which is more properly written Siogoon, from the Japanese pronunciation, both being derived from the Chinese military title of Ta-tsiang-kioon, signifying "great leader of the army." If the foreign ambassadors had made a more strict inquiry into the title and rank of the royal personage with whom they were supposed to be treating, his inferior position as Generalissimo of the Forces in Japan might have become apparent, and diplomatic relations transferred to the legitimate hereditary sovereign, the Mikado, or more properly Mikoto—also of Chinese derivation, signifying, "The Great Emperor." Be this as it may, it was not the policy of the Siogoon and his representatives to disabuse the minds of the foreign envoys of their error. On the contrary, it was for his interest that the error should be entertained, which was no doubt covertly approved of by the Mikado, as he could at any time declare the treaties null and void, if it suited his purpose, by intimating the fact to the foreign envoys that his servant, the commander of his forces, had no authority to conclude such treaties. Happily, the hereditary monarch of Japan has endorsed their articles intact with all the treaty Powers, chiefly through the diplomatic skill of Sir Harry Parkes, the present British Minister, who had the first personal audience with this previously mysterious, unapproachable personage. The result of these recent diplomatic transactions goes to prove that the Mikado was no more a "spiritual emperor" than the Emperor of Russia, as political head of the Greek Church in his dominions, or Her Majesty as Defender of the Protestant Faith in Great Britain and its dependencies. Thus we might compare the

relations of State subsisting between the Mikado and Siogoon as similar to that between the Queen as hereditary monarch of the British Isles and the Duke of Cambridge as Commander-in-Chief of the Forces.

§ 114. *Reasons for disputing the title of "Emperor of Japan."* In rendering the title of Mikado as signifying "The Great Emperor," we take exception to it on the ground that it conveys a degree of imperial status that the Sovereigns of Japan have no claim to, according to Asiatic titular rank, or indeed, European. If there be any intrinsic meaning in the title of emperor, it is where applied to a potentate ruling with absolute sway over his subjects, and not responsible in any degree to a superior monarch, as petty rulers are to imperial authority to whom they pay allegiance. In this sense Japan was not an empire, nor were the chief rulers emperors, inasmuch as they sent tribute to the Emperor of China, who was the only acknowledged emperor (Whang Te) in eastern Asia, to whom the Kings of Corea, Japan, Tartary, Tibet, Annam, and other States, owed allegiance, besides his absolute rule over China proper, with its multitudinous population of four hundred millions. Reduced to the Chinese standard, Japan is not so populous as some of the larger Chinese provinces, while the hereditary monarch is not entitled to a higher rank than his neighbour the King of Corea. On this principle the proper rendering of the Mikado's title should be that of "King," and the geographical denomination of his dominions "Kingdom of Japan."

§ 115. *Comparative inferiority of Japan to China in power, resources, and population.*—In pointing out these apparently trivial distinctions, it is not with a desire to detract from the importance of Japan as a Treaty Power with whom we have political and commercial relations. We simply wish to place the Government and resources of that country in a proper light, divested of those nebulous visions of the power and wealth with which they have been hitherto surrounded; and from which our civil, military, and naval representatives have from time to time fallen into error, and which merchants engaged in commerce have to their loss entertained. It was frequently the custom of writers on Japan, who were not well versed in a knowledge of the country, people, and government, to make it appear a nation of such vast influence in the body politic as to rival

China in its resources. Indeed, some enthusiastic writers go so far as to consider Japan and the Japanese as constituting an empire superior in every degree to the Chinese empire. Any one who will take the trouble to compare the material evidence on which the resources and power of the two nations are based, will at once see the disparity of their importance, not only among Asiatic States, but in their relations to European nations with whom they have intercourse. Without being invidious in the comparison, there is about as wide a distinction between the extent and power of China and Japan, as there is between Denmark and Russia. Moreover, Japan, as a civilized nation, owes its origin to China. Hence its system of government is based upon the theocratic despotism shadowed forth by the lawgiver Confucius, through whose writings the Chinese empire became consolidated under one supreme ruler.

§ 116. *Power of the Siogoon at his Court of Yedo over the Daimios.*—Notwithstanding this inferiority in rank, the Siogoon held a degree of power in the realm, partly elective and partly hereditary, which made him a formidable personage in the State. While the Mikado held his court at Kioto, the metropolis (Miaco) of Japan, the Siogoon had a separate court of his own at Yedo, the most populous city in the State. Here he was surrounded by the great daimios, who elected him in virtue of his family being descended from their great ancestor Taiko-sama, who obtained the highest rank and title granted to a subject in the sixteenth century for services rendered to the Mikado in consolidating and bringing peace to his dominions. Previous to that period, Japan was in a state of anarchy through the weakness of the imperial rule allowing the stronger landed proprietors to seize the lands of their weaker neighbours, and raising armed bands of followers to maintain their possessions. Thus in time powerful clans arose, among whom continued warfare prevailed, like that which existed among the Scottish Highland clans in olden times. The chiefs of these clans were induced by Taiko-sama, and his successor Iyeyas, to abandon their personal feuds with each other, and form themselves into a united body rendering allegiance to the Mikado, who transferred the chief power over them to the descendants of these great men, strengthening their position by conferring the rank of Generalissimo of the Forces, or Siogoon, upon the person chosen by the chiefs or daimios from the hereditary families.

§ 117. *Origin and hereditary rank of the Siogoons.*—It was about the close of the sixteenth century when Iyeyas succeeded to the power and position of Taiko-sama, at a period when Europeans began to visit Japan. He is represented as having been a man of superior talent, who reduced the system of consolidation inaugurated by his predecessor to a perfect state of law and order that gave peace to the country. The principle upon which he based his system was to respect the Mikado as hereditary sovereign, while he was with his court at Yedo deprived of the power of participating largely in the landed property of the country. He was called Emperor by the Portuguese and Dutch writers of the time, though he never gave, by any title he either assumed or received, any corroboration to the assumption. It was probably from witnessing the great power he held in the dual system of Government and his command of the troops, that the distinction came to be made by foreigners between a temporal and spiritual emperor. In devising his new plan of an Executive Government, Iyeyas left the Emperor's Court at Kioto untouched. That was above him. The lowest officer there was his superior in rank until the Mikado should give him a title. The nobility of that court are the peers of the realm, whose names and pedigrees are enrolled in the peerage, which is not the case with the names and titles of the daimios.

§ 118. *Rank and power of the feudal nobility or daimios.*—According to the Chinese terms from which these are derived, the former are classed as *Koon-gay*, signifying "a noble or just family;" and the latter, *Jeen-gay*, meaning, "low, or on a level with the ground." The late Siogoon himself was one of the *Jeen-gay*, and was only the greatest daimio until the Mikado granted him superior rank. When Iyeyas was firmly seated in his post as Siogoon, he had a large number of adherents who expected to be rewarded. Of these the most influential were the great landed proprietors or chiefs of clans, whose territories were defended by bands of armed retainers. Originally there were only seventeen of these daimios of the first class, but now there are twenty-one. They had the power of life and death among their retainers, with local jurisdiction over the inhabitants within their territories, so that in the provinces they held a semi-independant power. But on the other hand, each daimio was compelled to repair at stated intervals to Yedo; to

leave his wife and children there; to keep up a large establishment in that city, and to pay the accustomed homage to the Siogoon as his feudal lord, who retained the power of taking from him his territories in case of his becoming a dangerous vassal. There are three other classes of daimios, whose orders arose through privileges bestowed upon the relatives of Iyeyas; friends who contributed to his rise to power, and officers of his army or those who assisted him in civil capacities. These now form numerous classes of inferior daimios, but none of whom have the power and influence of the first class.*

§ 119. *Enormous yearly incomes of the superior class of Daimios.*—It will be seen that Japanese daimios, even of the highest class, had not the *pur sang* of native nobility. Before the recent revolution the title of "daimio" implied, in the first degree, a holder of land upon feudal tenure from the Siogoon, which yielded a total yearly return of produce valued at 10,000 kokoos of rice—a sum equivalent to about 7500*l.* sterling. But it did not follow that every landed proprietor having a rental of this amount was a daimio; for some of the retainers of the wealthiest daimios had larger incomes from lands held of them as superiors instead of the Siogoon. Some idea of the possessions of these great daimios may be entertained from their revenues, according to the official list formerly issued by the Japanese Government; the value of a kokoo of rice being calculated at the standard rate of eleven silver itzeboos, equal to fifteen shillings. Highest on the roll we find the chief of the family and clan of Mayedda, with a revenue of 1,027,700 kokoos (770,775*l.*). Next on the list is the famous chief of the house of Shimadzoo, called Satsuma, after one of the provinces that owed allegiance to him, besides the Loochoo Islands. His revenue was set down at 710,000 kokoos (532,500*l.*), but from the advantageous position of his territories, including some wealthy cities, such as Kagosima, there are data for concluding that his income was the greatest of any daimio in Japan. At all events, he was the most powerful of his class, having the largest and best-armed legion of retainers, a large number equipped on the most improved European system, including artillery in his batteries, where were seen rifled ordnance from his own manufactories.

* W. Dickson on the "Daimios of Japan," in 'Chinese and Japanese Repository.'

§ 120. *Heraldic insignia worn by the Daimios and their retainers.*—Without entering further into the material strength and resources of the twenty-one great daimios, enough has been shown to prove that if they had not the hereditary rank of the nobles at the Mikado's court, they possessed physical force and means which, in the eyes of foreigners, constitute a practical rank that is second only, in their opinion, to that of the sovereign himself. Hence, in their intercourse, foreign representatives invariably styled them as princes, such as the "Prince of Satsuma," the "Prince of Nagato," the princes of "Owari," "Etzizen," and others with whom they have come in contact. These were the Pembrokes, the Warwicks, the Leicesters, and the Percys of Japan, who are, properly speaking, the barons of the realm, whose prowess in the field and skill in warfare will stand comparison with similar qualifications in the English barons of the thirteenth century. Not the least curious resemblance between the forces of the belligerents at periods so remote, and territories almost at the antipodes of each other on the globe, is the use of armour by the chiefs and certain corps of their armies. Though the bright polished cuirass and helmet worn by the old English knights differed in form from those of the Japanese daimios, yet the entire panoply of rider and horse presented the same complete suit of defensive armour. Examples of these might have been seen by the visitor to the Paris Exhibition of 1867, where the great daimios we have named sent magnificent equipments of their armour and arms. Among the foot soldiery of these daimios there were companies of men clad in baldrick and morion, like the men-at-arms of the feudal period in Europe, and these carried banners with the escutcheons of their chiefs, while every retainer had his master's crest emblazoned on his tunic. This practice of wearing crests is universal among the privileged classes in Japan, from the Mikado downwards, whose crest is a circle with lines radiating from the centre, like a chrysanthemum flower. This fact is interesting, as a book on Japanese heraldry could illustrate as great a variety of these family insignia as those contained in our own heraldic works.

§ 121. *Soldiery of the Siogoon and feudal retainers form the army under his command.*—Next in order came the retainers of the daimios, constituting the most formidable and dangerous class in the realm; so much so that the Government and the

daimios themselves had long been afraid of their growing power. In this respect they may be compared to the Turkish Janissaries of former times; and it was one of the most important reforms to be overcome by the revolution, how to lessen their number by disbandment without creating an irresponsible body of men used to arms, who would rather rob than labour honestly. Some idea of their number may be estimated from the statistics of the population of Yedo in 1857, computed at 1,554,840, out of whom the retainers of daimios present in that city, obedient to the late Siogoon's command, were 432,000. More than half of these men were armed with lances, and all the *Yakonins*, or non-commissioned officers, as well as the superior officers, carried two swords in the girdle of the finest steel, and as sharp as a razor. The *Samourai*, or soldiers of the daimios, were scarcely distinguished from the troops under the Siogoon, as Commander-in-Chief of the Forces. Foreigners knew less about them than the regular troops, but what was known of them was not to their credit. Bands of them were heard of in plundering the industrious inhabitants, and when they appeared near the foreign settlements they displayed an undisguised enmity to the residents. They appeared to be the "swash-bucklers" of Japan, assuming an air of braggadocio as they swaggered through the streets, as history informs us was the case with the Alsatians in mediæval London. Generally they were arrant cowards, and in trying to insult a foreigner by a bullying demeanour while touching the sword-hilt, they would fly at the sight of a revolver. As the first stroke with their deadly swords was an upward cut from the sheath, all foreigners were advised to go armed, and present their pistols at intending assassins before they had time to unsheath their weapons. Notwithstanding all precautions, however, the number of assassinations on foreigners in Japan has been considerable, and chiefly attributed to these former armed retainers of the wealthy daimios. Indeed, to this day they have been the greatest obstacle in the path of progress inaugurated by the new Government.

§ 122. *Inferior grade of the privileged class holding civil appointments.*—An inferior grade of the privileged classes formerly existed, bearing the title of *Shiomio*, comprising all holders of land under the Siogoon, producing an annual income above one thousand and below ten thousand kokoos of rice. These were known as *Hattamoto*, and formed a numerous and

element in the body politic, as they filled most of the subordinate offices in the Government departments. It was this privilege of being eligible for office which distinguished the class to which the less wealthy but greater number of daimios belonged. These were named *Fudai,* numbering about two hundred, and, until the revolution, they filled all the offices under the Siogoon, such as the *Gotairo,* or Regent; the *Gorogio,* or Cabinet; the *Wakatoshyori,* or Second Cabinet, and all subordinate appointments in his gift. This high functionary, therefore, not only commanded the military and naval forces of the sovereign, but was the supreme head of the civil administration; just as if the Admiralty, the Horse-Guards, and Downing Street offices were all under one man. Moreover, while this office was elective among the daimios, yet they were restricted in their choice to the male members of four families, who claimed descent from the first Siogoons, Taiko-sama and Iyeyas; but the person elected could not hold office without the sanction of the Mikado. Here existed a system of government under the influence of powerful families as used to be in England. The last Siogoon of Japan belongs to the powerful family of Tokugawa, and is named Yoshi Hisa, one of the most able and enlightened personages who has filled that office in modern times. Also, what was of great importance in our consideration, he was most friendly to foreigners, and to him we are indebted for many of the privileges now enjoyed in the Treaty Ports of Japan, enumerated in the following chapters.

CHAPTER VII.

1859.

MR. ALCOCK, H.M.'s MINISTER FOR JAPAN, ARRIVES — BRITISH AND AMERICAN LEGATIONS ESTABLISHED AT YEDO—CONSULATES AT KANAGAWA—FOREIGN RESIDENTS AT YOKOHAMA — ASSASSINATION OF THREE RUSSIANS.

§ 123. Sanguinary masked policy of the Japanese rulers. § 124. Alcock's comments on the perilous position of affairs. § 125. His arrival at Yokohama as future British minister at Yedo. § 126. Installation of the legation at the suburb of Sinagawa. § 127. Arbitrary change of site of the foreign settlement. § 128. Evident that a second De-sima was intended for foreigners. § 129. Arrival of trading vessels, with traders and goods. § 130. The merchants solve the difficulty by locating at Yokohama instead of Kanagawa. § 131. Unseemly antagonism between diplomatists and merchants. § 132. Extraordinary arbitrary rate of exchange in silver currency. § 133. Traders obtain gold and copper coins at lower rates. § 134. Three troublesome questions for a diplomatist. § 135. British flag of the Embassy the first hoisted in Yedo. § 136. Alcock's account of how the ratifications of the British Treaty were exchanged. § 137. Isolated and unprotected positions of the two Legations. § 138. Arrival of a Russian squadron with an ambassador. § 139. Symptoms of hostility to foreigners by malcontents. § 140. Assassination of three Russians at Kanagawa. § 141. Assassins, being of the armed class, escape punishment. § 142. Alarm of the foreign community at the close of the year.

§ 123. *Sanguinary masked policy of former rulers.*—It might be supposed that after the *suaviter in modo* exemplified by the Japanese plenipotentiaries, in submitting to the *fortiter in re* of the foreign ambassadors, when concluding the treaty negotiations related in preceding chapters, they would have ratified them and carried out their stipulations in an equally amicable manner. Nothing of the kind; the masked policy of the Government, together with the hostility of the more powerful daimios, was glossed over only for the time being. When the twelve months in which the exchange of ratifications should take place, and the treaties be practically put in operation had elapsed, a second edition of Japanese cunning and tergiversation was commenced to render them, if possible, null and void, or, at all events, to limit their conditions as near as could be done to

the restrictive regulations in force at Nagasaki with the Dutch under the old *régime*. During that twelve months, from August 1858 to July 1859, internal changes occurred in the then complicated system of government, whereby the feudal barons gained the ascendency, and declared they would oppose by force the introduction of free foreign relations, and the residence of foreigners. Before the ink was well dry of the signatures on the treaties, a violent reaction seems to have taken place among the daimios inimical to such fundamental changes, which swept the whole of the actors from the scene. It is stated, upon Japanese authority subsequently obtained, that the Siogoon who had shown such friendly policy towards foreigners did not die a natural death, but was assassinated by an emissary of one of these feudal barons. Hence they installed a minor in the siogoonate, and they ruled as a Council of Regency. Under their sanguinary edicts most of the former plenipotentiaries were condemned to commit abdominal suicide,* or were banished to their own provinces, where too powerful for direct punishment.

§ 124. *Alcock's comments on the perilous position of affairs.*—Commenting upon the masked policy of the rulers, and the tragic events that ensued, we have the following from Sir Rutherford Alcock, Her Majesty's first resident Minister at Yedo, whose diplomatic skill and patience secured British treaty rights under the most trying circumstances: "The narrative I have given would have a certain interest, I conceive, if all other were wanting, as a contrast to the pleasant and amusing account furnished by Mr. Oliphant of Lord Elgin's mission; and to that previously supplied by Commodore Perry's expedition. Both sides of the medal give important revelations. The history of the extraordinary missions show the Japanese rulers under the pressure of sudden danger and emergency, for which they felt fully unprepared. Submission to the exigencies of Western Powers, which some inexorable fate seemed to have let slip upon their devoted country, or resistance with arms in their hands, seemed the only alternatives. The Japanese did, under these circumstances, what almost every Eastern race has done in the presence of a superior force. They negotiated and treated,

* *Hara-kiri*, signifying "Belly-cut."

because they felt unprepared to fight. They smiled and dissimulated, employing their utmost skill to give as little as possible; and reserving to themselves the full right hereafter of nullifying all they might feel compelled for the time to surrender. The foreign negotiators went away well pleased with their easy victories. The Japanese plenipotentiaries retired in disgrace; while their successors in the Government deeply meditated, in the interval before the arrival of the permanent legations, upon a policy of negation, accepting the letter, but determined on resistance *à l'outrance* to the spirit of the treaties. It naturally followed that diplomatic agents first appointed to take up their residence in the capital were beset with difficulties, dangers, and disappointments, from the hour of their arrival. Their predecessors, the Ambassadors Extraordinary, had only to extort certain privileges on paper; it was the business of the resident Ministers to make of these paper-concessions realities—practical, every-day realities. As this was the very thing the rulers of the country had determined to prevent, it cannot be matter of wonder that there was not, and never could be, any real accord, whatever the outward professions of good faith and amity. Hence also it naturally followed that, although the original negotiators were received with smiles and their path was strewn with flowers, their successors had only the poisoned chalice held to their lips, thorns in their path, and the scowl of the two-sworded bravos and Samourai to welcome them whenever they ventured to leave their gates; while the assassin haunted their steps, and broke their rest in the still hours of night, with fell intent to massacre a whole legation."*

§ 125. *Arrival of Mr. Alcock as future resident Envoy at Yedo.* —When the British Treaty with Japan was settled, providing for a resident Minister at the capital, it was a matter of consequence to appoint a competent diplomatist to that important post, especially as he would have to establish a legation in Japan, where there was no precedent to follow. The choice fell upon Mr. Alcock (now Sir Rutherford), who had distinguished himself in China for many years, in different grades of the consular service. At the time of his appointment he was at Canton, and used every dispatch to be at his new

* 'Capital of the Tycoon,' Preface.

post by the 1st of July, 1859, the day the treaty came into operation. He took his departure in H. M. S. 'Sampson,' which, after a short stay at Nagasaki, cast anchor in the Bay of Yedo on the 26th of June, where the 'Furious,' with Lord Elgin, had last been seen by the inhabitants of the city. His Excellency deemed it a critical moment, as the Japanese Government, who had demurred to a resident Envoy until 1863, was not apprised of his coming. But he had determined to steam right up to the anchorage outside the batteries, and take it for granted that the Government was prepared to give effect to the treaty.

§ 126. *Installation of the British legation at the capital.*—It was not long ere some officials boarded the ship, to know its business there. Having a dispatch previously written and addressed to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, announcing his presence, and requesting a residence to be assigned, Mr. Alcock handed it to them as his answer to their queries. On the following day he was agreeably surprised to receive a favourable reply, followed by a visit from two functionaries, who sent plans of the two temples occupied by Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, either of which were at his disposal. He went privately himself, with the captain of the ship, to inspect them, and landed where a great crowd of the inhabitants had congregated, but the police protected them as they got into their norimons. Not being satisfied with the accommodation to be had in these temples, he was conducted to one of the finest in the suburb of Sinagawa, situated on the *Tokaido* or great highway, which was in every way suitable, beautifully situated in ornamental grounds, and named *Tozengee*. It had been built and endowed by a wealthy daimio, but the Siogoon possessed the right to use it for Government purposes. However, on taking possession, he had some difficulty in getting the priests to quit that portion of the building and grounds they occupied. At length all was amicably settled, and the British legation was installed, the first foreign embassy resident in Japan.

§ 127. *Arbitrary change of site for the foreign settlement.*—Having so far succeeded in establishing his diplomatic mission, Mr. Alcock's next important step was to make arrangements for the opening of Kanagawa on the day fixed by treaty. This was the shipping port of Yedo, lying some twenty miles

farther down the spacious bay, on the great highway that intersects the city and suburbs from north-east to south-west, and beyond to the extremities of the realm. The town is small, but admirably situated for a foreign settlement from its easy communication by land and water with the capital. What then was Mr. Alcock's surprise when the officials informed him, on reaching the town, that the Government had decided on a different site for the projected colony, at a point one mile and a half distant across the bight where both were situated. This was the site of Yokohama, formerly a poor fishing-village, standing in the midst of a salt-water marsh, entirely out of the line of traffic. On visiting the spot he was further astonished to find that the Government had gone to considerable expense in building a substantial causeway across the marsh and lagoon for nearly two miles, as a direct means of communication with the highway at Kanagawa. The sea frontage was formed into an extensive quay, with solid granite piers and landing-places for boats; behind which were built an extensive range of official quarters, where a custom-house was already established. Moreover, the fishing-village had been cleared away, a number of small dwellings and warehouses built on its site for expected foreign residents; adjoining which was already an extemporized town of native traders, who had located themselves with their goods and chattels. It was abundantly evident that the Government had determined the settlement *should* be on the site they had selected, and nowhere else. With the wand of despotic power they had conjured up a town in a few months, which was previously the abode of water-fowl, for the future residence of the innovating foreigners, which it is to this day; but happily the scene is improved by the mightier wand of Western civilization, and the whistle of the railway locomotive awakens the repose of the bay.

§ 128. *Evident that a second De-sima was intended for foreigners.*—These evidences of a foregone conclusion on the part of the Government, without consulting the foreign representatives, naturally excited suspicion as to the motives for pursuing such a course. Consequently Mr. Alcock questioned the officials pretty sharply on the point; and they replied, with their usual disregard for the truth, that Mr. Harris the American Minister, when at Yedo the year previous, had seen

the locality and accepted it. It so happened that this envoy arrived himself at Yokohama that day, having come from Simoda. On being referred to, he not only denied having given any assent, but assured his British colleague that he had strongly remonstrated against the proposed site. Both these diplomatists saw that it was evidently the set purpose of the Government then in power—who were inimical to foreigners—to locate the foreign traders where they could be most easily watched, controlled, and completely isolated in such a situation as should enable the officials to exercise a restrictive power on all trade, in short, a design to make the settlement another De-sima. Every Japanese approaching it must either pass along two miles of exposed causeway, with a gate at each end, or cross the bay, the edge of which was already studded with watch-houses. "It naturally followed," says Sir Rutherford, "that, not only had the officials the power of effectually preventing any communication with the foreigner, except such as they might choose to allow, and under such conditions as the Government might see fit secretly to impose—but *without appearing to move in the matter*, they could exercise any amount of interference and control over the trade—since not an ounce of silk or a chest of tea could find its way to the foreign merchant thus located, until sanctioned; nor a bale of his own goods pass out of such a cleverly contrived trap for traders."

§ 129. *Arrival of trading vessels with traders and goods on board.*—Here was the first and most serious difficulty in the new relations, and was not an auspicious opening *to* free trade under the treaties, especially to the American minister, who represented a power that from the first ignored the semi-prison system established at Nagasaki over the Dutch. Both envoys appeared to have been in perfect accord in insisting on a liberal execution of the treaty stipulations. But how the difficulty was to be overcome they were at a loss to determine. There was the location, and a site prepared at a great expenditure of labour and money. Not only this, but there was a certainty of a long struggle and great delay before any other site could be obtained. Moreover, several trading vessels had already arrived in harbour, with merchandise, money, and merchant pioneers on board, from Nagasaki and the treaty ports in China, eager to commence business, and clamorous for immediate accommodation for themselves and goods on shore. The British and

American traders among them were duly notified of the state of affairs by their respective ministers; and informed that this attempt to force them into a Desima-like settlement would be vigorously resisted, at the same time recommending patience and self-denial while the matter was being adjusted. Few of these "rough and ready pioneers of commerce" were inclined to listen to advice or injunction. In this dilemma the two ministers proceeded to the British Legation at Yedo, and at once wrote to the Government that they would resist this attempt to place the merchants in a disadvantageous position, and perpetuate a state of things which it was the great object of the treaties to put an end to for ever. Either, indeed, such a policy must be reversed, or the treaties would become worthless as waste paper. Above all, they saw that it was to protect the permanent interests of foreign trade in Japan.

§ 130. *The traders solve the difficulty by locating at Yokohama.* —While the two diplomatists were commencing what appeared to become interminable negotiations, the mercantile agents of some of the wealthiest firms in China took the question practically into their own hands. First one and then another landed and secured quarters at Yokohama for themselves and their merchandise, simply because they could not get them elsewhere. These were quickly followed by their fellow competitors in trade, who saw the advantage and profit they would derive in being among the first in the field. To all comers the Japanese officials were most bland and attentive, giving them every facility to land their goods and furnishings, and occupy the tenements prepared for them. Indeed, it became a scramble who should be the first to secure the most eligible allotments for business, irrespective of the cost, or the engagements they entered into with the astute officials. Not only did they eagerly play into the hands of the Japanese, but most of them considered themselves lucky in making such good arrangements as first comers, which they would make those who came afterwards pay dearly for. In this matter the Government showed that they thoroughly comprehended the nature of the speculative, mercantile mind, which seizes the present moment as the time to make money regardless of the future, or those who come to settle after. The result was that on the opening day there was a bustling embryo settlement in the full swing of business, in the semi-artificial settlement of Yokohama.

§ 131. *The foreign traders and envoys in unseemly antagonism.*—It may be supposed that when the news of this movement on the part of their countrymen reached the two envoys they were not at all pleased. In fact it was a usurpation of their authority, as they were the legitimate representatives of their respective Governments, who had stipulated by treaty where the foreign settlement should be located. Moreover, it lowered them in the eyes of the Japanese, who had their own game to play, and were of course not at all slow to begin, by setting the merchants and their representatives at cross purposes, and in unseemly antagonism. These matters were discussed with a good deal of acrimony on both sides, which found its way into the English press in China. At this day it is not necessary to say more, but it will be seen that the residents themselves suffered by this hasty act.

§ 132. *Extraordinary arbitrary depreciation of the silver currency.*—Troubles did not come singly to our anxious and upright Minister. On the same day that he first landed and went ashore at Yokohama he found out a most cunningly devised system of exchange between native silver coin and Mexican dollars, whereby the foreigner would be cheated of two-thirds of their value. This coin was an oblong-square, worth about one shilling and sixpence, and three equal to one dollar. It was stipulated by treaty that the exchange should be weight for weight. Accordingly, when Mr. Alcock and his diplomatic assistants entered the custom-house, they found two grave-looking officials, with scales and weights and a glittering heap of new coins ready to be exchanged for dollars. On inspection, these were larger than the ordinary itziboo, and they were told that each was the weight of half a dollar. As the silver seemed unexceptionable, this they considered of no importance, so they threw their dollars into the empty scale and obtained two for each, weight for weight most religiously exact, as stipulated for in the treaty regulations. These were presented in payment of some articles purchased as of the value of one and a half itziboos. The vendor of wares shook his head and pointed to the mint mark, where it was denominated "*ni-shi*," or half an itziboo, thereby lowering the value of the dollar to one itziboo or eighteen pence. It was the same as if a shilling was stamped as a fourpenny piece, or a florin having only the current value of eight pence, no matter

their weight of silver. This deception was based upon the token system, only the reverse of what once existed in Europe, where the intrinsic value of the coin was one-third, and sometimes one-fourth, the nominal value of the token. Here was the second diplomatic struggle which the British Minister had to contend with on the opening day. Under these circumstances, few or no transactions were concluded in silver currency, which would literally have stopped all trade if confined to that extraordinary depreciated medium of exchange.

§ 133. *Traders obtain gold and copper coins at a low rate.*—In this important question of exchange the Japanese overreached themselves in the relative value between their silver currency and the copper and gold coins which were of the purest metal. The gold *cobang*, according to British standard and weight, was worth eighteen shillings, or twelve itziboos at one shilling and sixpence each. At that time it was equivalent to no more than four itziboos, or six shillings. Immediately this disparity was found out by the foreign traders there was an enormous demand for gold coin, notwithstanding the extraordinary depreciation, in exchange of the dollar. But in doing so the devisers of the scheme had a "method in their madness." Their fixed idea was that all Japanese produce and manufactures could be bought below their true value if the ounce of silver, in the shape of a dollar, was allowed to circulate as the equivalent to three itziboos, corresponding in weight. Also by reducing its value to one itziboo in exchange for gold it raised the value of that metal on a par with the European standard. But the traders managed to obtain cobangs in payment for their merchandise at a much lower value, and considerable profits were made in shipping cases of that coin to China, Europe, and America. In like manner, the copper coinage was obtained at an equally low rate, and the quantities exported affected the circulation so seriously that the Government withdrew it, and circulated an iron coin instead. Ultimately, they altered the gold coinage to the European standard, but too late to prevent large expertations and much mischief. Now the reformed Government have adopted the British gold currency and the American silver currency as their standards, with circular coins, struck at a mint made in London and superintended by an English master of the mint with assistants.

§ 134. *Three troublesome questions for a diplomatist.*—Accompanying the British Minister was a Vice-Consul, to be installed at the newly-opened port, who got a residence secured for him at Kanagawa; but no sooner was it granted than Mr. Alcock had to combat a pretension of the Government to deny all right of travel between the Consulate and Legation on the highway. "My American colleague and I," remarks Sir Rutherford, "had thus for a beginning three as troublesome and harassing questions as could well have been desired for a diplomatic agent. A disputed site for a foreign settlement, after the native Government had expended large sums upon one, and merchants were upon the spot urgent for land and instant accommodation; a currency question which struck at the root of all trade; and, finally, an attempt to dispute a right of road between the capital and the port, even to the members of the legation."

§ 135. *British flag of the Embassy the first hoisted in Yedo.*—On the 6th of July the British Minister landed officially, and the standard of the United Kingdom for the first time was unfurled in the capital of Japan in evidence of a permanent embassy having been established. Without delay he paid a visit, according to etiquette, to the Governors of Foreign Affairs, or Under-Secretaries of State, to settle the preliminaries for the exchange of ratifications. These were promptly arranged, but seven tedious days of discussion elapsed before the *modus operandi* was settled, and once a serious misunderstanding arose as to the signature of the Siogoon, together with the original treaty bearing the seals and signatures of the plenipotentiaries being delivered up. Even when all these matters were arranged, and the Minister ready to start with the precious documents, accompanied by an armed escort from H.M.S. 'Sampson,' an objection was made that the guard could not enter the official quarter of the city. This was overcome by the indefatigable diplomatist, who describes the ceremony of ratification as follows.

§ 136. *Alcock's account of how the ratifications of the British treaty were exchanged.*—This important ceremony took place on the 11th of July; "a bright and scorching sun gave sure promise of a trying day. The distance to the official residence of the Minister I now learned was four miles by Japanese measure. The treaty was to be carried in procession before me

through the city under a canopy ornamented with flags and evergreens, surrounded by a guard of marines, and followed by fifty bluejackets. Captain Hand, with a large number of his officers in uniform and on horseback, followed immediately after the four petty officers carrying the treaty. . . . . The long line of march of this procession through the wide streets of Yedo was a novel sight for the inhabitants of the capital, one such as had never been seen before. A treaty with a foreign Power, carried in state, preceded by the flag of Great Britain, surrounded by a guard of honour, and followed by a large escort of mounted officers with the representative of the Queen at the head, were novelties indeed. On through the populous commercial quarter we took our way, across the first broad moat (an anxious moment for the two chiefs of the civil and naval branches), unstopped by gate, portcullis, or guard, right on into the first fortified enceinte of the official quarter. The outer crowd of shopkeepers and industrial classes now left behind, a new crowd of retainers of the various feudal princes (?), whose palaces lay on either side of the route, supplied their place, keeping the road with long batons. Slowly the cortége passed on to the second moat, wider and deeper than the first, and more resembling a river than an artificial moat. The gates of the second enceinte are before us, but they too turn slowly, as if half-reluctant, on their massive hinges (shut expressly to be opened for our passage, as I afterwards knew, for I often saw with my own eyes that they remained habitually open), and at last the Minister's residence is gained. It lies to the left of a broad glacis, in front of the last fortified enclosure, standing on a higher level, where the palace of the Tycoon and the royal domain is seen. The guard formed outside, and, opening their ranks, the treaty was carried in by the bearers under its canopy, followed by myself, the officers of the mission, and of H.M.S. 'Sampson.' The full powers of the respective plenipotentiaries having been produced, and the other formalities accomplished, by comparing the two Dutch versions, signals, arranged by the Japanese in advance (by fans from street to street), conveyed the news to the ship, with telegraphic speed, in a minute and a half, a distance of six miles. A royal salute of twenty-one guns, the British and Japanese flags at the main, celebrated the exchange of ratifications and the happy conclusion of the day's

ceremonies, which had been preceded by so much difficulty and so many thorny discussions."

§ 137. *Isolated and unprotected positions of the two legations.*—After this diplomatic earthquake (to use a metaphor appropriate to such a volcanic country as Japan), the commotion subsided, and Mr. Alcock enjoyed for some time a hermit-like tranquillity at the temple-abode of the legation. Indeed he found the isolation somewhat oppressive, especially as he and his assistants were left without any naval or military protection, for the British man-of-war had taken her departure immediately after the exchange of the ratifications. The American Minister was in the same undefended position, as the frigate which brought him had also taken its departure after he had exchanged ratifications. "We were thus left," says Sir Rutherford, "perfectly isolated and unsupported in the capital of the Tycoon; surrounded by many hostile elements and unknown conditions, without the pendant of a single gun-boat in the Japanese waters, or within six weeks' or two months' call!" This apprehension of impending danger was, alas! too soon realized—the political earthquake again agitated the foreigners, and this time producing sanguinary shocks.

§ 138. *Arrival of a Russian squadron with an ambassador.*—Six weeks of comparative tranquillity passed after the departure of the two war ships; during which the obnoxious currency question was settled, the consuls were located at Kanagawa, and a right of road secured under a passport system. Matters were diplomatically quiescent; and the foreign traders driving a profitable trade with the native merchants at Yokohama, which was increasing in building accommodation and population, both foreign and Japanese, every day. To add to this comparatively progressive state of affairs at the new port, the element of protection appeared in the arrival of a Russian squadron of ten men-of-war, comprised of frigates, corvettes, and gun-boats, fully armed and manned. These were under the orders of Count Mouravieff Amoorsky, the Governor-General of Siberia; who had come on a diplomatic mission, chiefly for the purpose of settling the joint occupation of the Island of Saghalien, ceded by the Chinese to Russia in its northern moiety, the southern half being under a Japanese protectorate. After preliminary negotiations with the authorities, his Excellency landed with an escort of three hundred men, fully armed

and equipped, and took up his residence at a large temple allotted to the embassy.

§ 139. *Symptoms of hostility to foreigners by malcontents.*—It must be observed here, in anticipation of what follows, that it was with feelings of uneasiness that any members of the British or American legations went abroad in the streets of Yedo, or the consular officials in Kanagawa. Mr. Hewskin, the secretary of the latter embassy, had been repeatedly mobbed and molested by the people in the heart of the city, and more than once assaulted by some of the two-sworded retainers of daimios. Several members of the former legation were also mobbed and pelted with dry mud; against which Mr. Alcock made a vigorous protest on August the 9th, which had the desired effect of allowing the officers of both legations to go about unmolested. When the Russian squadron arrived, and Count Mouravieff with his suite and guard had taken up their quarters in the city, the officers naturally went abroad to see its streets and inhabitants. No sooner had they done so than they were annoyed and insulted. His Excellency made a formal complaint of the case to the authorities, who disclaimed all knowledge of the offending persons. Nevertheless it was understood that one or two subordinate officials were dismissed, and it was hoped by all the foreign diplomatists that the hostility of the petty retainers, soldiery, and other malcontents, would be restrained by the Government.

§ 140. *Assassination of three Russians at Kanagawa.*—Suddenly this returning feeling of security was dispelled by the sanguinary assassination of three Russians at Kanagawa, by some of these armed malcontents. One evening about eight o'clock an officer, with a sailor and the steward of the flagship, were on shore buying provisions. Having done so, they were returning to their boat, which lay at the landing-place near the principal street, when a party of armed men rushed upon them, with their razor-like swords, and cut them down in the most bloody manner. The sailor was cleft through the skull to the nostrils, half the scalp sliced down, and one arm nearly severed from the shoulder through the joint. The officer was equally mangled, his lungs protruding from a sabre gash across the body; the thighs and legs deeply gashed; while both were left in pools of blood, the flesh hanging from their bodies and limbs. The steward, though mortally wounded,

succeeded in rushing into a shop, where he sank from loss of blood. The ruffians, it appeared, were not content with simply killing their unsuspecting victims—all three, unfortunately, being unarmed—but must have taken a savage delight in cutting their flesh into pieces.

§ 141. *Assassins, being of the official class, escape punishment.*—The alarm being given to the sailors in the boat by some of the people who had seen the deed, but who were afraid to interfere, an armed party came on shore from the squadron to bring off their murdered countrymen. When they reached the scene of attack, they found the officer and the steward still alive, but the sailor must have died instantly after his skull was cleft. The two poor fellows had sufficient life to depose that one or more of the party wore the two swords distinctive of an officer's rank. A sandal was left on the ground, which, by its make, proved the rank of the wearer to be above that of the common class; while a piece of a broken sword was found beside the bodies, which had evidently snapped off in the deadly thrusts of an assailant. These articles were not only useful as material evidence in tracing the assassins, but showed clearly that they were not ordinary highway robbers, who had committed the deed for the sake of plunder, for no article of value was found missing from the bodies. The only thing stolen was the cash-box the steward was carrying, which contained foreign silver; but this was afterwards found on the highway to Kanagawa, with its contents untouched. It was plainly evident that they were not mere highwaymen, because the manner in which the murdered men were slashed and nearly dismembered indicated a savage, political feeling, more than a mere desire to disable or kill. When the Governor of Kanagawa was appealed to by the British Consul, during the night of the occurrence, he treated the whole matter with a kind of brutal levity, and made no effort to discover the assassins, none of whom were ever captured; notwithstanding the efforts of the Russian Minister, together with his two colleagues, who made common cause in the matter. All the satisfaction he got was an apology, with the promise to build a mortuary chapel over the graves of the victims; after which he left with his fleet.

§ 142. *Alarm of the foreign community at the close of* 1859.—This first and terrible deed of blood surprised and shocked every member of the foreign community. Evidently no one's

life was safe, when the victims were inoffensive men engaged in buying provisions. It was mooted at the time that they were attacked because they were Russians; but subsequent assassinations lead us to conclude it was simply that they were *foreigners*, whom the daimios and their emissaries had resolved to massacre at the first opportunity. From the laxity of the Government in trying to discover and punish the offenders, it was evident that they winked at this hostility to foreigners by the dangerous classes, through whose means they hoped to get rid of them and their treaties, by rendering their residence at the new port and in the capital untenable. Of course a general arming with revolvers and rifles was adopted by officials and traders, who never went abroad afterwards without weapons, or lay down at night before they had placed them under their pillows. "The struggle had now commenced in earnest," Sir Rutherford Alcock remarks, "and first blood had been shed—the struggle between European diplomacy, with protocols and the appliances of modern warfare in the background; and Japanese policy, animated by a fierce spirit of national fanaticism and hostility to all innovation, backed by the assassin's steel and all the weapons of oriental treachery and ruthless cruelty." These sentences were published only ten years ago, and applied in all their force even at that time.

CHAPTER VIII.

1860.

ASSASSINATION OF A LINGUIST AT THE BRITISH LEGATION—DUTCH AND PRUSSIAN TREATIES SIGNED AT YEDO—GOTAIRO OR SIOGOON-REGENT ASSASSINATED—BRITISH MINISTER HAS AN AUDIENCE OF THE SIOGOON.

§ 143. Fire in the foreign settlement at Yokohama. § 144. Sudden demand among the Japanese to purchase foreign fire-arms. § 145. Assassination of a native linguist belonging to the British legation at Yedo. § 146. Burial of the linguist with Buddhist ceremony. § 147. Murder of two Dutch master mariners, by Ronins, at Yokohama. § 148. Assassins escape; but Government held responsible for their capture and punishment. § 149. Assassination of the *Gotairo*, or Siogoon-Regent by Samourai of the Mito Clan. § 150. An act of revenge by the Great Daimio Mito. § 151. Measures of precaution and defence taken by the Siogoon's Government. § 152. Progress of the foreign settlement of Yokohama during the first twelve months. § 153. The British Minister has a solemn audience of the youthful Siogoon. § 154. Order, decorum, and plainness of the Siogoon's palace. § 155. Spartan simplicity in which the daimios lived at this time. § 156. Minister Alcock accomplishes the ascent of *Fusi Yama*, the famous sacred mountain. § 157. Murderous assault on an *employé* of the French legation at Yedo. § 158. The Dutch and Prussian treaties signed, and the envoys installed in temple residences at the Siogoon's capital.

§ 143. *Fire in the foreign quarter at Yokohama.*—The apprehension of impending danger, and risk of life and property among the foreign community, in no degree abated as the year 1860 was ushered in. Indeed, it became intensified as events transpired, each one more alarming than another, until a climax was reached which appalled the stoutest hearts, and would have justified them in abandoning such an unsafe country to live in. With the first week of the year a fire broke out in the new settlement of Yokohama, that nearly swept away the whole of the flimsy tenements and their contents. As it was, several of the residents were burned out of house and home—young beginners, too, who, with little capital, had probably lost their all, as no insurance could be effected at that time upon property in Japan. Whether it was accidental or the act of an incendiary could not be ascertained, but opinion inclined to the

latter, as it broke out in the foreign quarter of the settlement. The only consolation the case admitted was to be found, perhaps, in the admirable conduct of the Governor, the officials generally, and the firemen,—of whom there are organized brigades. Property was effectively protected from pillage; while every exertion was made to stop the progress of the conflagration.

§ 144. *Sudden demand among the Japanese for fire-arms.*—Shortly after this occurrence, a great demand sprung up suddenly among the native traders for foreign fire-arms, chiefly revolvers, rifles, and their ammunition. According to treaty any dealings in these articles were contraband, except when sold to the Government themselves; who looked with great jealousy on the arming of the people, or even the retainers of the daimios, with such weapons. Nevertheless, a brisk trade was done in fire-arms, at highly remunerative prices, so that the stocks on hand were soon cleared off. On learning the fact, the foreign envoys and consuls felt unusually anxious and puzzled. What did it portend? Did it bode some revolutionary proceeding on the part of the Japanese against their own Government; or some design against the lives of foreigners themselves? Even that would not have prevented money being made by their sale, but it lent a new interest to the question. From what subsequently transpired, there is reason to conclude that this was the commencement of the daimios—inimical to the Siogoon and his Minister—arming their retainers with foreign weapons, so as to cope with his soldiery, who were being thus armed.

§ 145. *Assassination of the linguist at the British Legation.*—While Mr. Alcock was pondering over these secret, uneasy elements of danger which loomed on the political horizon, he was shocked by the murder of his own linguist at the very entrance of the Legation, and in broad daylight. This man was a Japanese linguist, but ill-tempered, proud, and violent, and had frequently quarrelled with the Yakonins, some of whom threatened to take his life. It appeared he had gone down to the gate of the Legation, opening upon a wide space close to the highway, and was leaning against the doorway to a small nest of houses close by, and inhabited by ordinary peasants, men, women, and children. Suddenly one or two armed retainers stole stealthily down the lane behind where he stood, and

plunged a short sword to the hilt in his body. He staggered a few paces towards the porter at the gate, who drew the sword out of his back, and there he fell bathed in his blood. It had, indeed, been a home-thrust. The point had entered at his back, and came out above his right breast, and thus buried in his body the assassin left it, and disappeared as stealthily as he came, without a hand or a voice being raised to stop him. He was carried into the Legation, but he never spoke. One or two convulsive throes shook his whole frame while some of his clothing was taken off to examine the wounds, and, then, without a struggle he expired.

§ 146. *Burial of the linguist with Buddhist ceremony.*—As in the previous cases, the assassins escaped. This was the second atrocious murder committed in public thoroughfares in broad daylight, without brawl or quarrel, and both evidently deliberate and planned assassinations. No justice was done, or redress obtained, in either of the cases. About midnight two functionaries came to offer Mr. Alcock their condolences, and concert measures, or seem to do so. They indignantly repelled the supposition that the Siogoon's Government could not pursue and arrest a daimio's retainer, or even, if needful, his master. They offered, without hesitation, to bury the victim in the city cemetery with religious honours, according to the Buddhist ceremony, which Sir Rutherford graphically describes as follows:—"We buried the poor fellow a few days later, and to mark our sympathy and *solidarité* in such an outrage to the flag of a Treaty Power, members of all the legations, together with two Governors of Foreign Affairs, followed his remains to the grave. A considerable crowd was collected on the passage to the cemetery, situated by the banks of the river that runs through Yedo, and at some distance from the British Legation. Arrived at the temple the great bell tolled to announce the commencement of the service. Then the priests in stole and mitre, or something strikingly resembling both, took their places in two rows. The abbot, seated in a high chair in the centre, faced a temporary altar, on which tapers and incense were burning. A chanted litany followed, in which the priests were accompanied by the occasional sonorous tones of two pairs of cymbals, a drum, and a small musical bell. This continued for a quarter of an hour, when the abbot or superior rose from his chair, and closing his eyes and hands, prayed with great

fervour for the soul or spirit of the departed, it is presumed. He then took off his curiously shaped head appendages, and approached the altar, burned more incense, and on the spade (of wood) which was to turn the earth being brought to him, he waved it thrice on every side and over the incense, to consecrate it. Then followed another litany, and with a clash of the cymbals and a double beat of the gong and the drum, the ceremony was over, and its termination formally announced by the superior crossing the temple to where I stood, and making me a lowly reverence. The coffin was then carried to the grave and lowered into it by the attendants, while two of the priests brought a tablet, with the name of the dead inscribed upon it, Four white lanterns were placed at the head and foot, the earth shovelled in—'earth to earth, and dust to dust'—and the murdered man was left to rest in Japanese soil. . . . As the body was carried out of the temple to the grave, two white doves, suddenly liberated, circled round and flew into the cloudless sky, intended apparently as symbols of the flight of the spirit; but why two instead of one I could never get satisfactorily explained."

§ 147. *Murder of two Dutch skippers at Yokohama.*—The foregoing event happened at the end of January, and a month had scarcely elapsed when another case of assassination was added to the sanguinary list, on two captains of Dutch merchant vessels at Yokohama, who were slain in the main street of the settlement. In all the leading circumstances and unprovoked barbarity this was a repetition of the assassination perpetrated on the Russians at Kanagawa. It occurred about eight o'clock at night, when they were set upon in the dark. Their heads and limbs were nearly severed from their bodies, as though butchers had assailed them with cleavers. One had his shoulder nearly cut through, besides gashes across head, face, and chest. The second appears to have seized the sword with his left hand, which, drawn through his grasp, had severed three of the fingers; and still struggling, he must have warded off the blow at his head with the right hand, and run nearly a hundred yards from his butchers, as the hand was found at that distance from the body.

§ 148. *Assassins escape—Government held responsible.*—Again were the ends of justice frustrated, and the assassins allowed to escape. It was evident that no place was safe to foreigners

from the murderous swords of the Samourai, for here in the very heart of the foreign settlement two unoffending mariners were brutally killed—one was an old man upwards of sixty. The British Envoy took up this case as strongly as if the victims had been his own countrymen, and plainly told the authorities that they were responsible. In reply to their statements that every effort had been made to capture the assassins, he could not say what measures they had taken. He could only judge by the results, and these were *nil*,—while the murderers were at large and unpunished, nothing had been done. So long as they could neither prevent crime nor punish it, there could be no security for life, and without that there could be no stable relations either of trade or amity. The state of matters seemed to him very hopeless. But what could be done? Even such successive acts of assassination did not form a *casus belli*. To demand a heavy indemnity for the surviving families seemed the only practical means of inducing serious effort on the part of the Government—a policy which was ultimately put into execution.

§ 149. *Assassination of the Tycoon-Regent at Yedo.*—But the gory deeds of these bloodthirsty adherents of daimios inimical to the Government and their foreign relations, were not confined to foreigners; they lay in ambush and massacred the Regent ruling for the Siogoon while a minor. This tragic event occurred in broad daylight about ten o'clock in the morning of March the 24th, within the precincts of the Siogoon's castle, while the Regent was on his way to transact official business, accompanied by a large body of attendants. The *cortége* slowly wound its way down the road leading to the palace; the ground was wet and muddy, while the norimon bearers were blinded with the drifting sleet, and the Regent sat cross-legged inside, protected by close screens from the inclement weather. Little, it would seem, did either he or his men dream of possible danger. How should they, indeed, on such a spot and for so exalted a personage? No augur or soothsayer gave warning to beware of the "Ides of March." There was nothing seen by the attendants even to excite suspicion, only a few stragglers enveloped in their oil-paper cloaks alone were near. Suddenly one of these apparent idlers flung himself across the line of march, immediately in front of the Regent's norimon. The officers of his household, whose place was on each side of him,

rushed forward at this unprecedented interruption to punish the offender. This was a *ruse*, which had evidently been done to anticipate the movement, so that the norimon should be left unprotected. Instantly it was surrounded by a compact body of some twenty armed men, who had thrown off their rain-cloaks and appeared in chain armour, brandishing their swords. With frightful yells they rushed upon the bearers, severing their hands from the poles of the norimon, and cutting down with their flashing blades those who did not flee. The unhappy officers and attendants, thus taken by surprise, were hampered with their rain-gear, and many fell before they could draw a sword to defend either themselves or their lord. However, some came to the rescue, and a brief and deadly struggle took place, several of the assailants being wounded. When the survivors turned to the norimon to see how it had fared with their master, they found only his headless body inside. One of the assassins was observed escaping with the supposed bleeding trophy, captured, and slain; but it was found to be the head of one of the escort, while the head of the Regent had been secreted on the person of another, and was successfully carried off. Thus, in broad daylight, within sight of his own mansion, and close to the residence of the Siogoon, the next personage to him in the realm, by office, was slain by a band of retainers belonging to a rival daimio.

§ 150. *An act of revenge by the Great Daimio Mito.*—The murdered Regent, or *Gotairo*, was named Ikamo, ranking as *no-kami*, or a daimio of the first order, with a revenue of 224,000*l.* per annum. This high office was instituted, and said to be hereditary in his family, for the purpose of assisting the Siogoon during sickness, or in the event of a minority. He had occupied the post for seven years, and, since the advent of foreigners, had incurred the hatred and deadly enmity of Mito, another daimio equally wealthy, and belonging to one of the three families whose members could be chosen Siogoons. Some of the assassins who were apprehended and put to the torture confessed that they were retainers of his, and bound to avenge the wrongs of their chief. These men could hardly be regarded as common assassins, for it was an act of self-devotion on their part—they had nothing to gain, and no personal quarrel to avenge—with torture and death before them if they failed. At first it was supposed that they had been all killed

or captured, but this could not have been the case as the head of the Regent was said to have reached the daimio Mito, who was in a stronghold on his own territory. When this old man of sixty saw the gory head of his enemy he spat upon its face, muttering maledictions. It was then secretly conveyed to Kioto, the capital at that time of the Mikado, and there exposed at a place of execution in the city especially set apart for nobles or princes condemned to decapitation. Over the ghastly trophy a placard was placed, stating, "This is the head of a traitor who has violated the most sacred laws of Japan—those which forbid the admission of foreigners into the country." After two hours' exposure, the same intrepid retainers who had brought the head took it away, and afterwards made their way into Yedo, where, during the night, they threw it over the wall into the court of Ikamo's palace, from whence he had sallied out in pride and power on the morning of his death. A strange history—strange if true, and scarcely less so if invented.

§ 151. *Measures of precaution and defence taken by the Government.*—This terrible assassination cast a gloom over Yedo, and uneasy anticipation of farther troubles to the Siogoon's Government. All the wards of the city were kept closed for two days, and for some considerable time afterwards the precincts of the official quarter were carefully guarded at night. These were evidently precautionary measures against any fresh attack. It was apparently thought also that the foreign legations might be attacked, so the guards were increased, and field-pieces placed in the courtyards to defend the entrances. The position of both parties was deemed very critical, but no one in the legations could form a correct estimate of the real amount of danger, for the Council of State declined furnishing any data on which a judgment could be formed. They contented themselves with measures of precaution and defence, urgently requesting members of the legations to abstain for a time from going outside their enclosures. Mr. Alcock, not being inclined to be a sort of state prisoner, took his rides as usual into the surrounding country, accompanied by a few mounted Yakonins.

§ 152. *Progress of Yokohama during the first twelvemonth.*—Meanwhile the settlement of Yokohama progressed rapidly, and extended over the whole area that the traders on the spot could lay their hands upon. The ravages of the fire were soon

cleared away, and new buildings of a more substantial character were taking the place of the flimsy superstructures which had been run up in anticipation by the Japanese authorities. Seeing that there was no spare land for new comers to be located on, arrangements were made to increase the area, giving a mile more of water frontage to the bay. The actual amount of business done during the first twelve months, apart from the purchase of gold, was not much; and yet it was greater than had been anticipated by many, while the prospects of increased exports of tea and silk were encouraging.

§ 153. *British Minister has an audience of the Siogoon.*—When Mr. Alcock had been about nine months at his post, he received a letter sent from the Queen to "The most High, Mighty, and Glorious Prince, His Imperial and Royal Majesty the Tycoon of Japan;" accrediting him as "Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Yedo," which was to be delivered only in person. Six months elapsed before the necessary arrangements could be made, regarding the etiquette to be observed at the audience; chiefly through some "difficulty" Mr. Harris wished to overcome in the way he had been treated the previous year. This was accomplished, and the American Minister had his audience first, as arranged; and his report being satisfactory, a day was fixed for the British Minister, to be followed by one for the French *chargé d'affaires* to present his credentials. It was at the end of August, on a very hot day, that the ceremony took place, and a procession was formed of a similar character to those formerly described; but the high officers in waiting were disguised in a court costume so quaint and strange, and so utterly *bizarre* to the eyes of the Minister, that he had some difficulty in recognizing his old acquaintances, and still more in repressing a smile when the recognition took place. When he entered the audience chamber he beheld the quasi-potentate, the young Siogoon (a personage whose titular rank is now abolished), seated on a sort of throne or square pedestal, about six feet from the floor. He wore a head-dress something like that of his officers, and was dressed in a silken robe of very ample proportions. From the obscured light it was difficult to see his features, but he was evidently a mere youth, though stout and large limbed, with a full face and rather heavy expression. Without entering into details, the British Minister went through the ceremony

with dignity and courtesy, paying no more respect than he would when presented to his own sovereign.

§ 154. *Order, decorum, and simplicity of the Siogoon's palace.*—Hitherto most erroneous and exaggerated accounts were current among foreigners as to the oriental splendour of the Court of Yedo. and the fabulous wealth of the monarch and his nobility. It was gravely asserted that the so-called "Temporal Emperor" sat upon a throne of gold inlaid with jewels, while the state apartments were gorgeously furnished. From the account given by the British Minister Plenipotentiary, the reverse was the case; where there was less grandeur than what might be seen at the Court of any petty European or Indian prince. As things were ordered at the audience, nothing could exceed the general simplicity of the arrangements; while he was struck with the order and decorum of all he witnessed in the palace. The rooms were thrown open their whole length and width upon spacious corridors, by merely removing the sliding screens, allowing a great display of officers and attendants in their costumes of ceremony, without crowding. Passing through rank after rank of these, mute and motionless, suddenly, on some signal apparently, there was a general and prolonged sibilated sound impossible to describe, something between a *hiss* and a long-drawn *hish't*. It seemed to circulate through the whole building far and near, and to be echoed through all the courts and corridors; and was supposed by the envoy to indicate some act or movement of the Siogoon, bespeaking reverence and a hushed attention.

§ 155. *Spartan simplicity in which the daimios lived.*—In like manner a Japanese noble lived in a state of Spartan simplicity, his *yashiki* or city residence having its rooms furnished only with square mats, on which he squatted when at his meals, eating off a little lacquer tray on legs, standing only a few inches from the floor, and sleeping there, with a pillow of lacquer or bamboo not larger than the head. For ornament there were lacquer cabinets of exquisite workmanship, with bronzes, ivory carvings, and porcelain ware, set up in recesses and corridors. There were no articles of furniture in these mansions equivalent to tables, chairs, couches, or bedsteads, and the furnishings they did contain differed only from those of a retainer or citizen in their superior quality and finish. Neither had they any pretensions to imposing architecture,

excepting the massive portals at their chief entrances. But the deficiency in this respect was compensated for by their extent,—especially those of the great daimios, where barrack accommodation was made for an army of retainers numbering from five thousand to ten thousand men. It was compulsory on them to dwell with their retinues at the capital of the Siogoon during six months of the year, so that there was a constant movement of armed men and nobles between the city and the provinces. These swelled the census of the population by one-half, and at that time Yedo contained upwards of one million of all the other classes. Before the last of the Siogoons was deposed, this compulsory residence of the daimios and their retainers was abolished.

§ 156. *Mr. Alcock makes the ascent of Mount Fusi Yama.*—Towards the end of autumn the state of affairs became comparatively quiescent, and the British Minister took advantage of the circumstances to carry out a project he had previously resolved on, to ascend the famous volcanic mountain of *Fusi Yama*—signifying "Rich Scholar Peak." Various motives induced him to put this into execution; the chief being to prove the right assigned by treaty to diplomatists of travelling through the realm; to witness for himself the feelings of the country people towards foreigners, and the prospect of seeing fine scenery, with a change of air on leaving his quasi-state prison in Yedo. To give even a brief sketch of this interesting tour would occupy too much space in these annals; suffice it to say that he and his party returned in safety, satisfied with what they saw of the country and people.

§ 157. *Murderous assault on a man at the French Legation.*—As the year drew to its close the comparatively favourable signs of the times disappeared, and before winter had set in the dangerous classes renewed their hostility to foreigners. These men had a most forbidding aspect in their winter garb, when they tied a blue cotton muffler round the head and lower part of the face, so that no feature but the eyes could be seen. And when the wearer was one of the *Samourai* or retainers, carrying a couple of deadly swords at his girdle, and advancing with a menacing gait, it was difficult to conceive a more assassin-like figure, suggesting a masked bravo, whom it would be unpleasant to meet in a lone place at night. One evening two of these ruffians were passing the entrance to the French

Legation, where was standing an Italian servant of M. de Bellecourt, the *chargé d'affaires*. Although he was well armed, they set upon him and would have cut him in pieces, had he not defended himself with alacrity. As it was he received a sword-cut across his right arm, while in the act of warding the blow intended for his head; but it was not sufficient to prevent him drawing his revolver and firing at his assailants as they decamped. He recovered from the wound, while his assailants were never captured. Moreover, not one of the native guard appointed to protect the Legation attempted to seize them, although several were witness of the assault. It was ascertained that the ruffian who struck the blow was an officer of the most powerful daimio in Japan named Satsuma, whose retainers enjoyed a sort of notoriety as bold and turbulent swashbucklers, making their boast of it, and the power of their master to protect them. Hence the Government were powerless to punish them, as he and his adherents defied the Siogoon and his army; and it will be seen that they were defeated in a pitched battle, which overthrew the State.

§ 158. *Dutch and Prussian Envoys resident at Yedo.*—Meanwhile the King of the Netherlands had sent Dirk de Graef van Polsbroeck as his diplomatic agent to the Court of the Siogoon, and he was allotted a residence in Yedo. In like manner the King of Prussia accredited Count von Eulenberg to conclude a treaty with the Government upon the basis of the other foreign treaties. This was shortly afterwards signed, but with some reluctance, as in those days that Power had a very inferior *status* to what it now possesses. However, the Envoy was also allowed a residence, so that at the close of 1860 there were five foreign legations at the capital, ranking in date of installation as follows:—United States, Great Britain, France, Netherlands, and Prussia. This increase of foreign representatives and their staffs had one pleasing effect, of rendering the solitude of the first comers less irksome by enjoying each other's society and interchange of hospitalities. The British Minister availed himself of the Christmas festive season to invite his Christian colleagues to dine on the occasion, and for the time being forget that they were in a heathen country. His guests were increased by the visit of Sir Hope and Lady Grant, and an influx of staff-officers fresh from their China campaign, which had ended so victoriously to the British and French arms, and

thereby strengthened their position in Japan. "All the legations," writes Sir Rutherford Alcock, "including the Prussian, had their representatives at table, either in the person of the chief or some of their staff. We sat down twenty-three, and within that number of days one of the guests, perhaps the most light-hearted of the whole, lay wrapped in a bloody shroud."

CHAPTER IX.

1861.

ASSASSINATION OF THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF LEGATION — FOUR ENVOYS STRIKE THEIR FLAGS — ATTEMPTED MASSACRE OF THE BRITISH LEGATION.

§ 159. Alarming news at the opening of the new year. § 160. Precautionary measures taken for the defence of foreigners at Yokohama and Yedo. § 161. Assassination of Mr. Hewskin, the American Secretary of Legation. § 162. The British plenipotentiary's reflections on the perilous state of affairs. § 163. Burial of Mr. Hewskin's remains in the Buddhist cemetery at Yedo. § 164. Four Ministers strike their flags and move the Legations to Yokohama. § 165. Firm *but* pacific policy pursued towards the Government by the protesting Ministers. § 166. Meeting of British residents at Yokohama. § 167. Bold and successful tactics of Minister Alcock. § 168. He makes the journey by land from Nagasaki to Yedo for diplomatic purposes. § 169. Attempt at a general massacre of the inmates of the British Legation by a band of midnight assassins. § 170. The attack, a surprise on the Japanese guard. § 171. Frightful aspect of the Legation inside and outside. § 172. The onslaught made by a band of conspirators from Tsu-sima. § 173. Measures of self-defence taken by the British Minister. § 174. Opportune arrival of a British surveying squadron. § 175. General aspect of affairs at the close of the year.

§ 159. *Alarming news at the opening of the new year.*—New Year's Day had dawned upon the picturesque residences of the five Treaty Powers at the capital of the Siogoon, when alarming rumours were circulated that dispelled the pleasing visions of their inmates at the prospect of peacefully enjoying the festive season. The American Minister, who was on a visit to Kanagawa, heard that the Council of State were advised of a band of Ronins, or disbanded retainers outlawed, of the old daimio Mito, to the number of several hundreds, had combined with the intention of setting fire to the foreign settlement at Yokohama, and at the same time of attacking each of the Legations and murdering their inmates. This information was communicated to the British Envoy by Mr. Hewskin, the Secretary to the American Legation, together with a proposition that the members of all the embassies should move into the citadel and

take refuge under one roof until these disturbers of the peace could be seized and the country reported in a quieter state. Moreover, the Government advised that the consular establishments should be removed from Kanagawa to Yokohama, where they could be more easily protected.

§ 160. *Precautionary measures taken for defence.*—As rumours of a similar kind had been of periodical occurrence, the envoys were not inclined to rely upon the report or to act implicitly upon the suggestions for removal. At the same time, taking into consideration the perilous posture of affairs since the assassinations had begun, it would have been criminal not to have taken further precautions for defence. It so happened that the long-announced visit of a British squadron to Japanese waters took place at the time, the first since the establishment of the legation. This comprised H.M. steam-frigate 'Impérieuse,' the 'Encounter' and 'Scout' corvettes, and the little sloop of war 'Pioneer,' under the command of Rear-Admiral Jones. To that officer Mr. Alcock stated the case, requesting sufficient naval protection under the circumstances. With some show of reluctance he left only the 'Encounter' at the anchorage of Yokohama, and sailed for China with the remainder of the squadron. It appears that small-pox had broken out on board the flag-ship to such an extent as to require her either to put to sea or land her men. No doubt this was a valid excuse for the sudden departure of the Admiral, but there was not much desire shown to protect British interests at such a perilous time by a mere flying visit to Yedo Bay. That danger to all foreigners was impending, showed itself in the measures taken by the Government to protect them. The whole of the great highway between the settlement and the city was kept by large patrols of soldiery, while the guards at the Legations were doubled and trebled, with two more field-pieces to command the entrance to each.

§ 161. *Assassination of Mr. Hewskin, the American Secretary of Legation.*—At length this threatening storm of blood burst on the devoted head of Mr. Hewskin, the American Secretary of Legation. On the 15th of January that unfortunate gentleman was at the temporary residence of Count Eulenberg, the Prussian Envoy, who was delivering many valuable presents to the Siogoon's Commissioners, on the occasion of concluding

his treaty. Mr. Hewskin, being an accomplished Japanese linguist, rendered the same important service to the Count which he had afforded to Lord Elgin by acting as his interpreter. After dinner he mounted his horse to return to his own Legation, escorted by three Yakonins, one of whom carried a lantern with the Siogoon's crest emblazoned on the transparency. Their "road lay through some narrow streets in a densely populated quarter, in which the American Legation was situated. Shortly after entering these," states Minister Alcock, "where two or three intersected, a wild yell rose in the stillness of the night, and a band of some six or seven men lying in ambush for their victim, rushed from their covert with drawn swords. Dividing their numbers, while the main body fell upon Mr. Hewskin the others dismissed the leading Yakonin with a blow of the flat of the sabre on his horse, accompanied by an injunction, little needed, to take himself off. The two behind disappeared in another direction with equal celerity, while their charge, thus deserted, clapped spurs to his horse and endeavoured to dash through his assailants, who were striking furiously at him from both sides. He was only armed with a hunting-whip; but had he been better prepared for such a deadly onslaught, it is doubtful, from its suddenness and the darkness of the night, whether he could have used a revolver. He succeeded, to all appearance, in breaking through the band, unconscious at the moment of being severely wounded, and was able to ride on a hundred paces when he felt that he was grievously injured, and calling to his horseboy, still in sight though some distance ahead, he endeavoured to dismount, and fell to the ground in the attempt. He had received a frightful gash across the abdomen, from which the bowels protruded, besides several other thrusts and cuts of less moment. There he lay, wholly deserted and weltering in his blood, it is not known exactly how long. It appears that his assassins felt satisfied, for they did not follow him up; and as to his brave defenders bearing the Tycoon's arms, they only returned with assistance after a long interval. He survived but an hour or two after his arrival at the Legation —long enough, however, to tell the dismal tale and state distinctly all that had occurred."

§ 152. *British Envoy's reflections on perilous state of affairs.*— Here was a climax to the assassination of foreigners, eight

of whom had been murdered deliberately and designedly in the space of eighteen months by armed assassins, not one of whom had been brought to trial and punished. The victims previous to this were in a comparatively humble position; but Mr. Hewskin, though a Hollander by birth, was the official Secretary to the legation of a great Treaty Power, and in whose violent death a blow was aimed at the American Envoy, who might himself be the next victim. Not only was this the true interpretation of such a deed of blood, but every envoy and member of the embassies risked his life in performing his diplomatic duties. "It can hardly be realized in these modern days, in a European land, what it is to live under a perpetual menace of assassination, with apt instruments for its execution ever at hand, not for days or weeks, but month after month, and not occasionally, but constantly, from year to year. Never to put foot in stirrup without a consciousness of impending danger; never to sleep without feeling, as your eyes close, that your next waking may be your last, with the vengeful steel at your throat and the wild slogan of murderers in your ear." Such were the reflections of the British Minister on reviewing the category of these catastrophes and the perilous position of affairs, and it may well be said that a diplomatic post in Japan at that time was anything but an enviable one.

§ 163. *Burial of Mr. Hewskin in the Buddhist cemetery.*—On the fourth day after this tragic event, all the *corps diplomatique* in Yedo and the consular body from Kanagawa assembled by invitation at the American Legation to render the last honours to the murdered man. A greeting came to the assembled Ministers of the five Powers from the Government, stating "a great danger menaces all your lives, from which we cannot secure you if you persist in your intention of following the body to the grave." Now the question with the envoys was, Can this be true? or only a subterfuge. They decided that it was the latter, invented to intimidate the diplomatists, and they resolved at all risks to attend the funeral. Accordingly, the mournful cortége wound its way slowly to the burial-place. It was a cold but bright sunny day, without a cloud in the heavens; and the mourners and coffin were escorted by a strong guard of marines from a Prussian frigate—no ship of war of any other nation being in the harbour—while the band of that vessel played the 'Dead March.' It was noticed that

there was a total absence of any precautions to prevent a sudden attack on the procession along the line of road, which lay for more than a mile by the banks of a river; and offered great facilities for such from cross-roads leading to it, and bridges which traversed it at short intervals. The cemetery was reached without molestation; the fine trees, consisting entirely of evergreens, and covered with foliage rich in colour, cast a pleasant shade over the well-kept grounds of the temple to which it is attached. There was something very sad and impressive in the gathering which brought so many representatives of nationalities to the spot. A large circle of Europeans and Americans formed the principal group, while in the back rising ground were some Buddhist priests with their wide flowing robes and shaven crowns. Above them stood five Japanese dignitaries in costumes of ceremony, and a Roman Catholic priest, in stole and surplice, stood in the midst of the group which surrounded the grave. The bier was covered with the American flag: and as the service proceeded notes of sadness filled the air from the band—a wail of sorrow and lament. The flags of the other legations were lowered, while with uncovered heads the envoys each cast in a handful of earth—ashes to ashes, dust to dust! Thus ended the ceremony, and the cortége returned without mishap.

§ 164. *Four Envoys strike their flags and go to Yokohama.*—Next day the five Ministers assembled at the British Legation to consider their position, and what course it behoved them to take; not merely for their own safety, but the honour and dignity of their respective Governments, and the interests and lives of every foreigner in the country. Strange to say, the only member of this conference who confided in the good faith of the Japanese Government was Mr. Harris, whose secretary had been so cruelly murdered, without an effort on their part to seize the assassins and punish them. Two days afterwards a second conference was held, but the American Envoy did not attend. Under the circumstances the British Minister resolved to strike his flag at Yedo, and move to Yokohama; there to await with calmness the result of farther communication with the Government. His colleagues of France, Holland, and Prussia agreed to follow his example, but the American Minister preferred remaining in Yedo, so that this bold policy was in some measure deprived of its strength from

not being unanimous. Nevertheless it had the desired effect Mr. Alcock contemplated. Many days were consumed in the necessary preparations for lodging the legations in the dearth of house-room at the settlement of Yokohama, and it was not until the end of January that they got domiciled.

§ 165. *Firm but pacific policy of the protesting Ministers.*—Having taken up their temporary residence at Yokohama, the representatives of the four Treaty Powers each forwarded a strong protest to the Government against a total denial of justice, and the absence of all efficient protection to life. However, they stated that in withdrawing from the capital, after striking their flags, they had no intention of breaking off relations with it. All they desired to show was a determination on their part to effect some change for the better in their mutual relations, without implying any menace of hostilities. In a circular to the British consuls Mr. Alcock fully explained the position of himself and four of his colleagues, and the objects contemplated. They were told to explain to the governors of their respective ports that these were not to create a rupture, but, if possible, to avert any such calamity, and to induce them to place their relations on a better footing. "Above all, to give that security to life and property which had been greatly in default from the beginning, and latterly wholly wanting."

§ 166. *Meeting of British residents at Yokohama.*—When the American Envoy dissented from joining his colleagues on their departure from Yedo, he said if this important step was taken, in all probability they would never return to their respective Legations, as the Japanese Government no doubt would refuse their terms to return, and leave them self-exiled from the capital. This policy was adopted. Although manifesting uneasiness as to what the withdrawal and its consequences might be, the Government seemed to accept this *status quo* without any effort to change existing relations. In this posture of affairs the Dutch and Prussian Envoys left Yokohama, so that the British Minister and his French colleague had to settle the difficulty themselves. In order to strengthen his case, Mr. Alcock requested Captain Howard Vyse, H.B.M.'s Consul, to call a public meeting of their countrymen, and ask them to furnish a statement of their principal grievances and subjects of complaint. Thirty-four British residents accepted the invitation, and discussed the currency, land, and other questions,

voting the consul into the chair; when he laid before them a comprehensive statement of the situation, which was received in the most satisfactory manner. He concluded by assuring them that whatever steps would be taken to restore matters, these would be done with due deliberation; having in view the equal necessity of averting by every means any interruption to trade, or disaster to the community. On their part, they would see the necessity of avoiding all causes of quarrel with the natives, and abstaining from unnecessary exposure in going about the settlement after dark.

§ 167. *Bold and successful tactics of the British Minister.*—As had been anticipated, an evasive reply came tardily from the Government, requesting time to deliberate upon the question. Now came the time to make a bold move on the diplomatic chess-board, which Mr. Alcock, in conjunction with M. de Bellecourt, skilfully made. He informed the Government that, as they could fix no term for their deliberations, it was his purpose to employ the interval by travelling through the country, visiting all the ports, and more especially those of Osaka and Hiogo, the opening of which, according to treaty, they wished to postpone. This had the desired effect. A high functionary favourable to foreigners, named Sakai Wookionoske, came to Yokohama with full plenipotentiary powers to treat with the two envoys. Three conferences followed, at which it was finally arranged that a formal invitation in the name of the Siogoon should be sent to them, requesting their return to the capital under specific conditions set forth in a minute of the first conference. These were briefly, a formal pledge of the Siogoon, by and with his Council of State, to provide effectually hereafter for the safety of the legations, and their exemption from violence and menace—thus recognizing without reservation their responsibility—the official invitation to resume their posts, and finally the public reception of the foreign representatives who had left under menace of violence, with marks of respect to the national flags by a royal salute on their being hoisted. All these conditions were duly carried out on the return of the two resolute Ministers to Yedo in H.M.SS. 'Encounter' and 'Pioneer.' They were received at the landing-place by two Governors of Foreign Affairs and conducted to their respective Legations, and when their flags were hoisted, the batteries saluted each with twenty-one guns. Thus ended the grave

crisis, ostensibly to the satisfaction of all parties; and there was no doubt that several important results had been obtained by this vigorous, dignified policy, which would not have been secured by the *laissez-faire* policy of the American Minister.

§ 168. *Mr. Alcock makes a journey from Nagasaki to Yedo.*—The British and French Ministers returned to Yedo on the 2nd of March, and for upwards of four months the Legations remained in comparative tranquillity, and apparent security. Meanwhile, Mr. Alcock improved the occasion by carrying out his intention of visiting the more southern treaty ports, and make a journey from Nagasaki to Yedo, which no foreigners but Dutchmen from the factory at De-sima had hitherto accomplished. His object in undertaking this tedious journey was directed mainly to such facts and incidents as might help him to form a judgment of the relations actually existing between the ruling classes and the masses; of the development of intelligence in the middle and lower ranks, and the influence which feudalism in its oriental phase exercised upon the population, rural and urban. For this purpose it was needful to carry his observations not only among the tillers of the soil, but into the cities and great centres of life and activity where commerce and large intercourse might be expected to give a fuller, if not a more distinctive, expression and form to national life. Accordingly he proceeded to Nagasaki by sea, and there organized his overland party, comprising himself, Mynheer de Witt, head of the Netherlands mission at that port, three gentlemen attached to the British legation, and Mr. Wirgman, artist to the 'Illustrated London News.' Their Japanese escort, comprised of Yakonins, ometskys or spies, interpreters, and other followers, were in great number. These with their own servants, and the baggage of the whole party, stretched in a long line of procession as they left the town, on the 1st of June. As it is no part of these brief annals to give any account of this journey, suffice it to say that they travelled all the way without molestation, and in thirty-two days arrived at Kanagawa.

§ 169. *Attempt at a general massacre of the inmates of the British Legation.*—On the 4th of July the British Minister with all the members of the legation—including Mr. Oliphant, newly appointed secretary—with the same escort that had accompanied him from Nagasaki, rode up to the capital, glad to rest after his fatiguing journey. Accordingly he retired to

bed early, and soon fell asleep, little dreaming of the dangers that surrounded the Legation. At its best, the temple in which they were located was a most insecure building, situated in a locality that rendered it easily open to attack. But now it was more so, as the sliding panels and screens were mostly drawn aside to admit the cool air, after a sultry summer day. Outside there were stockades and fences, with gates which were closed at night, and guarded by one hundred and fifty soldiers. About midnight the inmates were aroused from their slumbers by the yells of assassins and deadly clashing of swords. Mr. Oliphant was the first foreigner assailed as he got up to see what was the matter, and received two sabre cuts, one in the neck and the other in the right arm. Fortunately he was in a position where a low beam intervened between him and his assailants, otherwise he would have been cleft to the chin. He fled to Mr. Alcock's room, and while doing so was followed by Mr. Morrison, consul at Nagasaki, who had fired two or three shots with his revolver at an assailant who cut him severely across the forehead. When they reached Mr. Alcock's rooms, they found him at the door armed with a revolver, and they were joined by another gentleman not wounded. There they stood awaiting the entrance of their pursuers, but to their astonishment none followed. However, they could hear some of the band breaking through the doors opening into the courtyard with frightful fracas, but whether in or out they could not tell. They were now five Europeans, with three revolvers and a double-barrelled rifle loaded, and would have fired a volley at point-blank range, but they were afraid that the number of the assassins might overpower them. For ten minutes they remained in a dreadful state of suspense; when the noise subsided, and there was reason to hope that at last their unwatchful guards had come to the rescue. Fortunately for his wounded friends Mr. Alcock had been educated in the medical profession, and he at once set to work and bound up their wounds so as to stop the hæmorrhage, if not saving their lives.

§ 170. *The attack, a surprise on the Japanese guard.*—Then only did Mr. Alcock venture to leave the wounded, and with two of the party go to look for another gentleman of the legation who slept in a further wing of the building. While advancing Mr. Lowder, one of the student interpreters, was placed as a sentry at an angle commanding a long passage

leading from the entrance. Seeing a group of armed men at the other end he challenged them, and not receiving an answer fired into them, when they suddenly disappeared. A minute or two afterwards, the Japanese civil officers in charge of the place appeared, with Mr. Macdonald, the missing gentleman. It appears he had rushed out on hearing, as he thought, some one break into his bath-room in the rear, and after in vain attempting to induce a guard immediately above him to come down, made his way through a side gate to the front, where he found a wild scene of tumult and conflict. In the courtyard of the temple itself, and in front of that part of the Legation, there were groups of men fighting, rushing to and fro, and gathering from all sides with lanterns and swords in their hands. He himself being descried by the civil service officers was drawn aside; and as he was a conspicuous object in his white sleeping-costume, they enveloped him in one of their own dresses. As to the guard of one hundred and fifty men, not one of them seemed to have been on the alert, or even awake; and when aroused in the *mêlée* their officers never attempted to lead them to the rescue of the members of the legation until all was over. The danger did not seem wholly over when the first attack was repulsed. Frequent alarms from different parts of the grounds of the approach of an enemy continued for two hours afterwards, originating, as was supposed, in the individual members of the scattered band making their way through the cover of the surrounding woods to escape. And all did escape, except two who were killed on the spot, nearly hacked to pieces, and a third who was seriously wounded.

§ 171. *Frightful aspect of the Legation inside and out.*—When day broke and the aspect of the temple-residence and grounds was fully visible, it presented all the appearance of a place carried by assault and sacked. Inside the building the front panels of the entrance had been broken through, the screen partition between the temple and the hall thrown down. The floors and the passages were spattered with blood, the sliding panels crushed and broken, the furniture in many of the rooms was thrown down, and had been cut and hacked in their blind fury, or in baffled rage at finding all empty. The mosquito-curtains were slashed, and a stout bedpost cut through, as well as a stout book on the table of Mr. Lowder, as if the assassins had sought to leave behind them tangible evidence of the

strength of their arms and the keenness of their swords. Outside more sanguinary evidences of the attack were seen. "At intervals along the avenue," writes Minister Alcock in his narrative, "I found three corpses stretched on the ground, two of them bodies of the assailants, who, as I have said, had been frightfully hewn about. I have seen many a battle-field, but of sabre wounds I never saw any so horrible. One man had his scull shorn clean through from the back, and half the head sliced off to the spine, while his limbs only hung together by shreds. The other was equally savagely maimed and hacked. . . . . As I looked on these mangled and hideous remains, and thought such as they were then it had been intended we should be, and such might still be the fate reserved for me from this confraternity, I confess to a shudder of mingled horror and disgust. . . . Certainly a more providential escape from what, humanly speaking, seemed inevitable destruction, it is difficult to conceive. The fact of their having chosen the front avenue and entrance for their line of attack instead of the unguarded back is difficult to explain. Had they come in that direction my death must have been inevitable; mine the first, if not all in succession, for the winding path down the hill led directly to my bedroom."

§ 172. *The onslaught made by conspirators from Tsu-sima.*—When it was possible to compare the evidence of confused actors in this midnight tragedy, and gather the facts from all sources, the whole plot and execution came out tolerably clear. On the body of one of the assailants killed on the spot, and also on the person of a second of their number badly wounded and made prisoner, a paper was found, declaring the object of attack, and signed by fourteen names. This document was written in a kind of *patois*, not easy to decipher, but it was carefully translated, and of the following purport:—"I, though I am a person of low degree, have not patience to stand by and see the sacred empire defiled by the foreigner. This time I have determined in my heart to follow out my master's will. Though being altogether humble myself I cannot make the might of the country to shine in foreign nations, yet with a little faith and a bold warrior's power, I wish in my heart, though I am a person of low degree, to bestow upon my country one out of a great many benefits. If this thing from time to time may cause the foreigner to retire and partly tranquillize

both the minds (or the spirits) of the Mikado and Siogoon I shall take to myself the highest praise. Regardless of my own life, I am determined to set out." If we take this document as the genuine and spontaneous declaration of sentiments and motives of the desperadoes engaged in the attack, the existence of a fanatic feeling of hatred to the foreigner—irrespective of nationality as an intruder and violator of the sacred soil of Japan—was widespread among the daimios and their retainers. In this case it was ascertained that the leaders of this band were not the lawless Ronins, or mere hired bravos, but the patriotic followers of a great feudal and semi-independent daimio, whose possessions embraced two outlying islands named Tsu-sima, situated in the Strait of Corea. It was stated that their master had been insulted by a Russian naval captain, and not being able to get satisfaction from him, sent this band of myrmidons to take vengeance on the British legation. They had lain in wait at a rendezvous in the neighbourhood for the arrival of the Minister and his suite, and there caroused and talked over the onslaught they were about to make. It was also concluded that the fourteen emissaries must have been joined by a number of desperadoes in Yedo. On obtaining a muster roll of the killed and wounded, there were five under the former and twenty-two in the latter category. There is probably not in all the annals of British diplomacy an example of such a bloodthirsty and deliberate plot to massacre the officers of an embassy; or civilians who behaved so bravely and continued afterwards to perform their duties under such perilous circumstances.

§ 173. *Measures of self-defence taken by the British Minister.* —At this juncture Mr. Alcock lost not a moment in seeing what armed protection he could get from the British naval force in Japanese waters, as he had lost all confidence in the Government to secure the safety of the legation. The only man-of-war in harbour was the 'Ringdove,' H.M.'s steam sloop of four guns, and used by the Admiral as a dispatch boat. Only twenty-five sailors and marines could be spared; but these were increased by fifteen men from the crew of the French troop ship 'Dordogne,' which happened to be in harbour with M. de Bellecourt on board. That Minister not only generously sent these men under an officer, but went himself to Yedo, determined to share a common danger with

his British colleague. On the part of the Government they were certainly aroused to the momentous position of affairs, and sent a large body of daimios' retainers besides the Siogoon's men of the bodyguard, to the number of five hundred. Most of these men guarded the outer approaches of the temple clad in chain-armour, on the watch by day and night—when lanterns were hung up at every ten paces, and watch-fires blazed at every fifty paces. Hence it was almost impossible for any one to enter the grounds unobserved. The marines and seamen kept guard on the inner enclosure. The scene was a strange mixture of modern and medieval state of warfare, picturesque in the extreme, yet perilous to the Europeans who were risking their lives for diplomacy.

§ 174. *Opportune arrival of a British surveying squadron.*—While these exciting events transpired at Yedo, the foreign residents at Yokohama continued trading with the natives, who exhibited very little apprehension of a collision at the new treaty port. Nevertheless it was with much satisfaction that the community saw a British surveying squadron, consisting of H.M.S. 'Actæon,' with three gunboats, come to an anchor off the settlement. At the time of the attack on the Legation these vessels were in Simabara Gulf, in a bay only a short distance overland from Nagasaki. An express was sent to that port, which reached the British consulate ten days after the event. Mr. Annesley, the officer in charge at the time, sent a messenger over to the bay, with a letter to Captain Ward, the senior officer, giving the particulars, and stating the unprotected position of our countrymen. Without delay he set sail for Yedo, where his little fleet was doubly welcome, as it was unexpected. Moreover, it had a wholesome effect upon the Japanese, to whom it must have seemed something weird, as if ships could be evoked by the British out of the sea whenever they were wanted to defend or avenge the lives of Britons. Notwithstanding this prompt action of Mr. Alcock in being prepared to defend the persons and property of Her Majesty's subjects at Yokohama, they took umbrage at his notifications restricting their movements in and beyond the suburbs of the settlement, under pains and penalties. It was deemed humbling when they met Japanese men in the streets, to avoid any hostile encounter by giving way to them; to ride only at a walking pace; not to sleep at a village beyond certain limits

without a passport, or to fire off a revolver or rifle without just cause, making offenders liable to a fine of two hundred dollars, or a month's imprisonment. These restrictions were felt to be annoying, inasmuch as the subjects and citizens of other nationalities were not so confined to this second De-sima by sumptuary notifications.

§ 175. *General aspect of affairs at the close of the year.*—No further attacks were made or collisions took place between natives and foreigners during the year, so that it closed comparatively tranquil, and the latter had recovered from their alarm sufficiently to enjoy the Christmas festivities. These were duly recorded in the 'Japan Herald,' the first newspaper published at Yokohama, in November, by Mr. Hansard—who had previously printed the 'Nagasaki Express,' at that port. At this time there were 126 foreigners resident at Yokohama, belonging to the following nationalities:—British, 55; American, 38; Dutch, 20; French, 11; Portuguese, 2. At Nagasaki there were about forty, the Dutch mustering strongest; at Hakodadi there were not half that number, a few of whom were Russians; while Simoda was abandoned by the Americans, and struck off the list of ports open to foreign trade. The three under the new treaties had by this time been open two years and a half; but the trade had been nearly limited to the two southern settlements, as nothing deserving the name of commerce had been transacted at Hakodadi. At Yokohama the import trade increased in 1861 some 30 per cent., from 197,023*l.* to 307,981*l.*; but there was a corresponding decrease in the exports, for in 1860 they were estimated at 823,812*l.*, and in 1861 only at 558,948*l.* At Nagasaki the imports in 1861 amounted in round numbers to 140,000*l.*, and exports 203,000*l.* These sums added to the returns from Yokohama made the total external foreign trade of Japan for the year about twelve hundred thousand pounds. Among the imports at Yokohama was a tiger from Singapore, brought over by a Dutch trader. The Japanese customs refused at first to let it be landed, while the shipmaster would not take it back. In this dilemma it was resolved that it should be let loose on shore, which horrified the officials, and they gladly admitted the animal, while the importer sold it for ten times its cost, to a Japanese wild-beast showman.

CHAPTER X.

1862.

JAPANESE DIPLOMATIC MISSION SENT TO EUROPE — ANOTHER MURDEROUS ATTACK ON THE BRITISH LEGATION — ASSASSINATION OF MR. RICHARDSON — EXODUS OF DAIMIOS AND RETAINERS FROM YEDO.

§ 176. Departure of a Japanese diplomatic mission to Europe. § 177. Minister Alcock leaves for England. § 178. Dissatisfied state of the foreign residents at Yokohama. § 179. Pamphlet on the true political condition of Japan. § 180. Instance of Christianity being a proscribed religion. § 181. The Japanese purchase a British merchant vessel for trading purposes. § 182. Second murderous attack on the British Legation under Colonel St. John Neale. § 183. The assassin one of the Japanese guards at the Legation. § 184. Colonel Neale endeavours to reassure British residents. § 185. Convention of daimios convoked at Yedo by the Mikado. § 186. British and French legations temporarily moved to Yokohama. § 187. Assassination of Mr. Richardson on the *To-kai-do*, or highway to Yedo. § 188. The assassins, retainers of Shimadzoo Saburo, father of the Great Daimio of Satsuma. § 189. Horror and dismay of foreign residents at the outrage. § 190. Important result of the great convention of daimios. § 191. Exodus of the daimios, their families and retainers, from their *yashiki* or barracks in Yedo, to their provincial domains. § 192. Successful diplomacy of the Japanese Mission in Europe. § 193. Summary of trade at the treaty ports during the year.

§ 176. *Departure of a Japanese diplomatic mission to Europe.*— Affairs having assumed a more propitious aspect, Mr. Alcock resolved on sending Mr. Oliphant, who had not recovered from his wounds, to England for obtaining the best medical advice. He entrusted him with the Siogoon's letter to Her Britannic Majesty, together with his own dispatches, setting forth a full and accurate statement of how diplomatic matters stood. At the same time the Siogoon and his Government had determined upon sending a diplomatic mission to the Courts of European monarchs who had entered into treaties with Japan, with a view to defer the opening of the ports of Hiogo, Osaka, and Nee-e-gata. When this subject was broached to the British Minister he not only concurred in the policy of the mission, but offered a free passage in a man-of-war to the Japanese Ministers and their suite. Accordingly, Commodore Lord

John Hay placed at their disposal for this purpose H.M.S. 'Odin,' a fine frigate under his command, which was specially fitted up for their accommodation. There was a good deal of trouble attending the arrangements, as the main-deck and several cabins were cleared and furnished, or rather what we might call unfurnished, in simple Japanese style; but this was made up by the quantity of baggage, food for their peculiar tastes, with cooking utensils, they brought on board. At first there were seventy named for passages; but this being out of the question, the list was reduced to one-half that number. This comprised the Envoy Extraordinary, two Ministers Plenipotentiary, accompanied by thirty-two subordinate officers and servants—secretaries, spies, doctors, accountants, cooks, and barbers. After much delay they were at length got on board, and Mr. Macdonald, of the legation, was appointed the future equerry to Takeno Votschie Shemodze *no-kami*, Envoy; Matsudaira Iwami *no-kami* and Kiogok Noto *no-kami*, Minister; who took their departure on the 23rd of January, under a salute of seventeen guns and the Japanese flag hoisted at the fore.

§ 177. *British Minister leaves for England.*—It was arranged by Mr. Alcock, with the permission of Earl Russell, at that time Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that he should leave his post for England shortly afterwards by the overland route, to advise the Government as to their policy towards Japan. There was no British man-of-war in harbour, in consequence of the fleet under Admiral Sir James Hope being at Shanghai, when it was threatened by the Taiping rebels. Being anxious to reach London in time, he sailed in a Dutch war-ship for Nagasaki, where he found H.M.S. 'Reynard,' and obtained a passage in her to Shanghai, from whence he sailed for Europe, by the mail-steamer 'Aden,' on 19th April. Accompanying him was the Government interpreter Moriyama, who spoke English well, besides another official charged with the latest advices from the foreign Ministers, one of whom was all but assassinated at the time.

§ 178. *Dissatisfied state of the residents at Yokohama.*—When the British merchants at Yokohama ascertained that the main object of the Japanese mission to Europe was to postpone the opening of Osaka and Hiogo from the 1st of January, 1863, to that day seven years, they were much incensed at the proposal, and sent a remonstrance to Earl Russell on the subject. In

his dispatch to Mr. Alcock, his lordship, while consenting to the postponement, pressed for full equivalents for the concession, amongst which were the opening of the port of Fat-choo, in the west isle of Tsu-sima, and the neighbouring coast of Corea, so far as Japanese authority extended to the trade of the Treaty Powers. In this, as in other equivalents demanded by Earl Russell, political considerations superseded those of a commercial nature. The policy therein foreshadowed was evidently to check the progress of Russian encroachments in that quarter; for the port of Fat-choo is one of the most magnificent harbours in the world for warlike purposes, which the Russian Admiral had used as a refitting port for his squadron. On the other hand the merchants deemed it a small equivalent for the postponement of Osaka and Hiogo. Instead of this contraction of the treaty stipulations, they were looking forward to an early day for the opening of Yedo to commerce. Hitherto it had been uphill work at Yokohama, and not very profitable transacting business so far from the populous capital. In this dissatisfied state of the trading community, Mr. Winchester came to take up his post as *locum tenens* during the absence of Mr. Alcock. He re-issued the obnoxious sumptuary regulations, partly amended, but they were not acceptable to the free-born Briton, who considered himself as good, if not better, than the highest functionary at the legation or consulate, not to mention his contempt for the native officials. These regulations, moreover, created a bad feeling between the former and the traders; so that when they came in contact with each other a most unfriendly spirit was exhibited, and caused great dissension in this small community, which the cunning Japanese were not loth to take advantage of. These dissensions were increased by the facility of having the columns of the local journal open to communications of the aggrieved persons, besides the journals in China, through which a good deal of scandal percolated.

179. *Pamphlet on the true political condition of Japan.*—Now that there was a printing press in Yokohama, it was employed by the community to make their views on the political as well as commercial affairs known. The first pamphlet that appeared was from the pen of a talented German, who in it disclosed the chicanery of the native officials in restricting trade, and gambling in metallic currency. Not only that, but he was the first to

publish the fact, which was subsequently confirmed, that the Siogoon had no legitimate authority to conclude treaties with Foreign Powers. The following extracts will show the drift of the pamphlet, which then contained important information :—

"Our commercial intercourse with the Japanese is what our political and social relations with this people imply it must be, namely, difficult and irregular. That a few merchants have had some advantageous transactions does not prove that all goes well. But the fact that nearly every member of the mercantile community at Yokohama can cite numerous examples of the uncalled for, arbitrary, and injurious interference of Japanese officials in his affairs with the people, proves that the liberty which trade wants in order to prosper, and which the treaties promised, does not exist here. It is certain, for instance, that no Japanese merchant is allowed to come to Yokohama, or to establish himself here without having obtained special permission to do so; it is also certain that he can only bring to market those articles which the officials allow him to sell; it is certain that he is obliged to render to Government a detailed account of every transaction he has with foreigners, declaring not only what he buys and sells, but exactly how he pays and is paid for it; it is certain that if he receives foreign coin as money (though the treaties expressly provide for his doing so), he is obliged to sell it to Government agents at a price which gives the Government a benefit of nearly thirty per cent. on the whole of the large balance of trade which we have to pay in silver; it is certain that these oppressive restrictions and exactions prevent the better class of merchants, such as the men of Osaka, from resorting to Yokohama, and leave us dependent upon a low class of petty traders and brokers who are in general both ignorant and tricky, and from whom nothing can be recovered in case of breach of trust or contract; and there is scarcely any doubt (though owing to the fear these humble traders have of all officials, the fact is not absolutely proved) that, in addition to all these injuries, and indeed in natural sequence of them, all merchandise coming to or going from this port is heavily charged with arbitrary and illegal duties. These facts, however stoutly they are denied by officials, are known to and have been experienced by nearly every foreigner in Japan. I repeat, therefore, there is neither peace nor amity between foreigners and Japanese, and our

commercial relations, no less than our diplomatic relations, with this people are unsound and unsatisfactory. Such being the conclusion to which the facts bring us, the questions arise, what are the reasons of the Tycoon's open breach of promise? and how can foreigners obtain the personal security and commercial facilities which the treaties profess to confer? The answer to the first question is this—the reason the Tycoon breaks his promise is because *he cannot keep it*, and the reason he cannot keep it is because *he had no right to give it*. This statement may startle those who have read the *comptes-rendu* of Lord Elgin's and Baron Gros' embassies to the Court of Yedo, and have inferred from them that the Tycoon's Government is equivalent in Japan to that of the Queen of England or of the Emperor in France, and was possessed of the same right as those potentates to enter into treaties with other nations. Nevertheless, the fact is as I state it. The Tycoon cannot keep his promise because he has no right to give it. The Tycoon is neither autocrat nor constitutional sovereign of Japan. So far from this, he is not even the highest of the Sovereign's servants. Between him and the Mikado, who alone is the legitimate Emperor of Japan, stand several officers who rank above him. The Tycoon is merely the chief executive officer of the Government. . . . It is well known that the Mikado has not yet given his formal consent to the treaties made with Foreign Powers, and it must be evident that without this consent those treaties have no legal value in the eyes of the Japanese nobility and people."* As already mentioned this ratification was obtained on the overthrow of the Siogoon.

§ 180. *Instance of Christianity being a proscribed religion.*—Besides the hatred to foreigners politically and socially, it is well known that the ruling classes and their followers, together with the ecclesiastics, bore intense animosity to them as Christians. Indeed, it may be said with truth that this bitter feeling has been at the bottom of their exclusion for two centuries from intercourse with all nations professing Christianity. It was proscribed by the fiercest denunciations of the law, even to the profession of foreigners at Nagasaki; and the horrible persecution and martyrdom of the native converts at that city has been the theme of many a missionary chapter in the accounts

* 'An open Letter to the representatives of Western Nations at Yedo.'

of Japan. Without entering into that harrowing story, and the continued persecution of the descendants of these converts, and others, we may notice that foreigners who traversed the public places for notifications in Yedo, or any considerable town, and who understood the language, observed boards with the old proscription against Christianity posted on them, with cruel pains and penalties against natives becoming converts, or in any way countenancing the obnoxious religion. Hitherto no practical illustration of this persecuting law had come to the knowledge of the foreign residents under the new treaties. A case, however, occurred at Yokohama in March, showing that it was still in force. A French abbé named Girard, with three coadjutors of the *Mission Apostolique*, had built a neat little chapel called "The Sacred Heart of Jesus," in the middle of the settlement, facing the main street. Although permission was granted by treaty for the erection of places of worship for the use of the residents, still the Japanese were prohibited from attending, or in any way witnessing, the ceremonies. One day about thirty petty traders from the country went into the Roman Catholic chapel, more from curiosity than any other object. When coming out at the gate of the enclosure, they were seized by a guard of armed Yakonins, who pinioned them with cords, and took them to prison. It happened that M. de Bellecourt, the French Envoy, was in the settlement at the time, and the Abbé Girard immediately went and told him the circumstance. On referring to the Governor of Kanagawa, that functionary considered it so grave an offence that it must be laid before the Council of State at Yedo. This was done, and the Minister interceded for the poor fellows, but not without difficulty saved them from capital punishment, and obtained their release from prison.

§ 181. *Japanese Government purchase a British merchantman.* —While the Government officials at Yokohama were thus exhibiting their hostility to all foreign institutions, a most unexpected transaction occurred at Nagasaki, showing their appreciation of our shipping and commerce. At that port the British barque 'Armistice,' 385 tons, Captain Richardson, commander and owner, traded regularly to and from Shanghai, with cargoes of native produce and foreign merchandise, which yielded highly profitable returns. She was in every way a smart craft, kept in excellent trim alow and aloft, with un-

usually good capacity for freight. The officials frequently boarded her, expressing their desire to know all about her traffic, which the captain unhesitatingly complied with. One day he was asked if he would sell the vessel, when he replied he had no objection to do so if he got a fair price. After some consideration, and exhibiting his traffic ledger, he asked thirty-four thousand dollars, which they agreed to pay. The bargain was soon closed, the vessel handed over, and re-named the 'Sen-zai-maroo,' signifying "to last a thousand years"—a class of vessel which is not to be found on Lloyd's register. She was loaded with Japanese produce, and manned by Japanese sailors, having several officials on board, and made a safe trip to Shanghai. It was intended that this should be the nucleus of a merchant fleet under Government control, so as to compete with foreign merchantmen; but it did not succeed, and the project was ultimately given up.

§ 182. *Second murderous attack on the British Legation under Colonel St. John Neale.*—This gallant officer was Secretary of the British legation in China during its perilous position at the close of the last war; and as it was necessary a man of action should fill the dangerous post of *chargé d'affaires* at Yedo, he was appointed to it, while Dr. Winchester took charge of the consulate at Nagasaki. Before Mr. Alcock left for England, a new site had been fixed on for erecting legation buildings, of a substantial character, and capable of being well defended from attack. These were in progress on the arrival of Colonel Neale, so he had to take up his abode at the insecure temple of *To-zen-gee*. However, as a military officer, he saw no cause for apprehension, as the place was unusually well guarded. In the temple buildings there was quartered an escort of mounted troopers, specially enrolled for the protection of the British Minister when he went abroad. Then there were a number of sailors and marines from H.M.S. 'Renard,' who kept watch and ward day and night at the entrances to the buildings. In the outer enclosure, five hundred Japanese retainers of daimios bivouacked, as formerly described. Shortly after his arrival, the anniversary of the attack on the Legation came round, and one of the Governors of Foreign Affairs called in the afternoon to pay him a visit of congratulation. He retired to rest under a perfect feeling of security, when, suddenly, as he was about falling asleep he heard the sentry outside his door challenge

some one. Immediately afterwards a cry of mortal anguish broke the stillness of the night, which caused him to leap out of bed, and rush to the guard-room, where he found the guard roused and standing to their arms. At the same moment the sentry staggered in amongst them frightfully wounded and covered with blood. The night was pitch dark, and as they knew not what might be the number of their assailants, they assembled in the largest apartment of the place, prepared to resist the attack. After a pause a corporal of marines was missed, who it appeared had been going his rounds when the alarm was first given, and Lieutenant Aplin in command of the troopers, with some of his men, went in search of him. The second victim of this outrage was found dead, weltering in his blood, from numerous sword and spear wounds. From the dying sentry, a sailor, some few particulars were gleaned before he breathed his last, but the details were elicited from his fellow Japanese guard, one of them being always so placed with a lantern at night. From his evidence it appeared that he observed a man crawling on all-fours over a bridge which crossed a sheet of water. The sailor-sentry challenged the man, and he, giving the parole *Tama*, was allowed to pass. The Japanese sentry then raised his lantern to look him in the face, upon which he sprang back, and fiercely attacked the sailor with a sharp fifteen-feet lance. The first cut of this deadly weapon nearly severed the hand which held the lock of his rifle, the second inflicted a severe wound in the left leg, a third in the right, and a fourth making a deep gash in the shoulder. The Japanese sentry had by this time drawn his sword and aimed a blow at the assassin, which he warded off with his spear, and wounded him in the foot, when he made towards the corporal of marines, who approached and fired his revolver, but he cut him down also. The Japanese guards then came up in hundreds, but the assassin had escaped.

§ 183. *Assassin one of the Japanese guards at the Legation.*—The foregoing statement of the Japanese sentry was not altogether credited, as there must have been more than one assailant, from the number of wounds on the victims, some of them sword-cuts. On examining the ground next morning a pool of blood was seen under a verandah, where one of the murderers had taken refuge after being shot by the marine. On investigation it was found that this man reached his own

house, not far off, where he committed suicide by ripping up his abdomen, boasting to those around him that he had attacked and killed some foreigners. But the most startling information obtained, chiefly through the fance having been found, was the fact that this man was one of the guard placed to defend the Legation, the weapon having the same brand as those of his comrades, and that was why he knew the pass-word for the night. A very significant incident supported this evidence when Colonel Neale demanded to see the body of the murderer, which after some demur was acceded to. However, this was accompanied by the proviso that the body would be brought to the temple by a large number of his comrades; and this intimation was accompanied by such sinister and menacing expressions that he declined the visit. It was afterwards reported, that if a desecrating finger had been laid upon the body, this band of desperadoes had conspired to attempt the massacre of every foreigner in the Legation.

§ 184. *Colonel Neale endeavours to reassure British residents.* —Notwithstanding this narrow escape of his life, Colonel Neale forwarded a dispatch to Consul Vyse at Yokohama, requesting him to state to the British residents that, "Whatever may be the personal risks and perils to which Her Majesty's legation in Yedo are subjected, I must request you to assure Her Majesty's subjects in Yokohama that no general or political movements of a hostile nature as extended to foreigners at the open ports, to my knowledge or belief, exist by which our lives or property are menaced or placed in jeopardy; but should such ever be the case, I shall not fail to adopt every measure within my reach for their effectual safeguard and protection." This prompt attention to their interest by the new *chargé d'affaires* was gratifying to the British residents, but it was far from reassuring. Business was nearly at a standstill. The Japanese traders were unwilling to enter into engagements unless money was advanced. They seemed to think that a crisis was at hand. Everything indicated that there would be some extraordinary development of native affairs before long.

§ 185. *Convention of daimios convoked at Yedo by the Mikado.* —These rumours of some portentous political movement among the oligarchy of daimios and impending danger to foreigners were too truly verified by events which transpired shortly

afterwards. Although the officials in communication with the foreign legations and consulates were more than usually reticent, still important news oozed out which found its way into the local press of China as well as Japan. It appeared that there had been a conference at Kioto, the metropolitan city (*Miaco*) of the Mikado, between the princes and high functionaries of his Court and a representative of the Siogoon regarding the posture of affairs in relation to the foreign policy of the executive Government. The result of this conference was to convoke a convention at Yedo of all the great daimios; to which the Mikado would send his envoy, Ohara-Samong Do-no, a dignitary of much higher legitimate rank than the Siogoon. He was the *Kezai*, or chief of the Mikado's household, and commissioned by him to preside at the convention, on account of his great wisdom and intellectual acquirements. The greatest daimios and the Siogoon himself were bound to pay him homage, although he was only an officer of his august master's household. This dignitary left Kioto with a retinue of upwards of two hundred persons, among whom were thirty nobles of the Court, and the cortége under command of a high military officer passed through Kanagawa on to Yedo on the 2nd of July. On the following day another cortége passed through that town along the *tokaido*, or great highway, of Shimadzoo Saburo, of the house of Satsuma, the most powerful of the feudal baronies in Japan. Though he was by birth the head of his house, yet he had abdicated his political rights in favour of his eldest son, which seems to have been an old custom; but on this occasion he reserved the right to represent the power and privileges of the family at the convention. The *prestige* of his predecessors was so great that it was a proverbial saying, "When Satsuma sleeps, Japan is safe." He was known to be a man of indomitable courage and ferocious disposition, who could overawe inferior daimios, and was inimical to the foreign policy of the Government, as well as the foreigners themselves. His retinue consisted of some three hundred and fifty followers, among whom were a large number of the dangerous class of *Ronins*, whom he had taken under his protection, for what purpose was not clear, except to intimidate vacillating daimios. The Government gave out to the foreign diplomatists that this assembly of the feudal oligarchy was held for the purpose of arranging some points of

etiquette regarding the Mikado's sister, who had been married to the Siogoon the year previous. This was a mere subterfuge to try and hide the true import of the conference, which related chiefly to the whole question of the Siogoon's authority and his foreign relations. For many days and even weeks the great highway was thronged with the retinues of daimios proceeding to Yedo, and foreigners were warned by the authorities, through their consuls, to refrain from appearing on the tokaido during the passing of these formidable armed bodies of men.

§ 186. *British and French legations temporarily moved to Yokohama.*—While this House of Daimios were deliberating on affairs of state, the British and French Ministers moved their legations temporarily to Yokohama, to wait there until the buildings of their permanent residences were finished at Yedo. These were being erected on new sites, and upon plans so as to afford better protection to their inmates than the insecure temples they had occupied. In order to strengthen their European guards without obtaining the casual aid of marines and sailors from the men-of-war, twenty-five British, and the same number of French, soldiers reinforced them from Shanghai. Political affairs continued quiet; and the apprehensions of a storm brewing seemed to have passed over. At Yedo a frightful epidemic of measles with cholera caused great mortality among the people. This extended to Yokohama, visiting the native inhabitants with great severity, but leaving the foreign community unscathed; though at Nagasaki several succumbed.

§ 187. *Assassination of Mr. Richardson on the highway to Yedo.*—In the autumn it is a custom among the residents at Shanghai to escape from the humid, sultry weather at that great emporium of commerce, and recruit themselves at the ports in Japan. Nagasaki at that time was the chief place of resort, but everyone was anxious to obtain a peep of the grand city of Yedo, heedless even of the risk in doing so. A young merchant named Lenox Richardson took a trip over with a party of friends, among whom was a lady named Mrs. Borrodaile. After seeing all the sights in the neighbourhood of Yokohama, one day they, in company with two gentlemen named Marshall and Clarke, took a ride along the tokaido, though they were warned to be very careful in their movements, as the daimios and their retinues were then returning from their grand con-

ference. This was on the 14th of September, and the party crossing in a boat to Kanagawa, mounted their horses there about two o'clock in the afternoon. As they proceeded along the highway they passed several norimons, each surrounded with attendants armed with swords and lances. These formed a continuous but irregular train, broken at intervals. When they were passing, the party walked their horses at a steady pace, and cantered during the intervals. This continued for about three or four miles, when they met a regular procession, preceded by about a hundred men in single file on each side of the road. They kept their horses at a walking pace until they came to the main body, which occupied the whole of the highway, at a spot where it was crossed by a bridge. When this dense body of armed men got over it they halted, and a two-sworded Yakonin of large stature stepped forward, holding up both hands, and making gestures for the party to retreat. Mr. Richardson and Mrs. Borrodaile were some ten paces in advance of the other two, and instantly turned their horses round, when this Yakonin drew his sword and made a cut at the former, wounding him seriously. Then about thirty of the advance-guard, who had been marching in single file on each side of the road, closed in upon the party with murderous intent, none of whom had a weapon for defence. Swords were drawn upon these helpless persons, and slashes made at men and horses; yet it would appear none were aimed at the lady, though all ran the gauntlet in dashing through the deadly rank. The three gentlemen were more or less wounded, and poor Mr. Richardson received his death-wound from a lance, which was thrust into his abdomen. Nevertheless the whole four managed to get beyond their assailants and ride for life to Kanagawa, excepting him, for he dropped dead from his horse with his bowels protruding. Mr. Clarke and Mr. Marshall were faint from loss of blood, still they reached the town, and Mrs. Borrodale crossed over to Yokohama in a boat.

§ 188. *Assassins were followers of the Great Daimio Satsuma.*—Immediately on the assassination being known, a large body of residents belonging to the various nationalities in the settlement proceeded to the scene of the disaster. They found the body of the murdered man lying in a small garden by the roadside, close to a tea-house, dreadfully mutilated, but not an article taken from the clothing. On examination at the

inquest which followed, Messrs. Marshall and Clarke gave evidence that all their assailants had daimios' crests on their uniforms, mostly that of Satsuma, which is a white cross in a circle. Further inquiry confirmed the conjecture that this was the cortége of Shimadzoo Saburo, father of the ruling feudal lord Satsuma, who was returning to his province after the deliberations of the grand assembly of daimios had finished. It was avowed also by some Japanese officials, friendly to foreigners and inimical to the house of Satsuma, that this personage was in his norimon amongst the main body of his followers when the attack was made, and he had given orders that it should be done. On further inquiry of the people in the neighbourhood, they said that Mr. Richardson was able to reach a bank by the roadside, where he sat under a tree, close to a small tea-shed kept by a woman. Though dreadfully wounded by a gash sixteen inches long, severing his ribs and opening his abdomen, with a severe wound across one hand dividing the fingers, he was able to sit up and ask for *midzoo* (water), the only word almost that he knew of the Japanese language. In about ten minutes the train of Shimadzoo Saburo came up, and the bearers set down his norimon opposite where the dying man lay. According to the testimony of the villagers, he inquired of some of his attendants what they were looking at, and they replied that it was one of the wounded foreigners. At this the inhuman monster ordered them to slay him outright, when his savage myrmidions attacked their victim with drawn swords, and though he bravely offered all the resistance he was capable of, cut his throat, nearly severing his head, and stabbed him in several places even after he was dead. This contumacious daimio and his house were well punished afterwards in the bombardment of their stronghold at Kagosima by a British fleet, and the Government had to pay large indemnities for the murderous attacks on Englishmen.

§ 189. *Horror and dismay of foreign residents at the outrage.*—This attack upon a harmless party of English visitors in broad daylight, on the open highway, and the assassination of one of their number by the retainers of the greatest feudal baron in Japan, brought the sanguinary deeds to a climax. It not only absorbed the attention of all foreigners in Japan and China with horror and dismay, but drew forth the denunciations of the civilized world. Though there was some apparent

laxity of vigilance on the part of Her Majesty's *chargé d'affaires*, in sending his mounted escort to recover the body of the victim, yet all the foreign envoys joined in one accord to demand of the Government the fullest reparation, not only for this outrage, but for the others that preceded it. Conferences from time to time were held with the *Gorogio*, or Supreme Council of State, on the course to be pursued in order to punish the offenders, but these were not matured until a long time afterwards, as they had to be referred to the British Government and other European Treaty Powers.

§ 190. *Important result of the great convention of daimios.*—Meanwhile it transpired that previous to this outrage, while the great Council of Daimios were coming to a close in their deliberations, resolutions of the gravest import had been passed by majorities, affecting the Government and policy of the Siogoon, which had been in force for two centuries and a half. It has been stated that the powerful and wealthy daimios were obliged to take up their residence in Yedo, with their families and retainers, at least six months in the year, leaving the female branches and children permanently resident, when they visited their provincial territories. This law was abrogated, and one passed in its stead providing that henceforth the highest daimios were only to visit Yedo once in seven years, and then only for a *hundred days;* the second class once in *three years* for the same period only; and the third class to remain as before; but the wives and families of all classes were no longer to be held in the capital as hostages. It was evident for some time previously that political power was deserting Yedo and clustering round Kioto. There had been gaining ground a feeling of dissatisfaction among the powerful daimios opposed to the foreign policy of the Siogoon, at their enforced residence in Yedo, and a desire to be at the Mikado's Court of Kioto, so as to restore the ancient and legitimate seat of monarchy to its position as the metropolis of Japan. Moreover, the Mikado, through his great ministers, commanded the Siogoon to appear in person at his Court, and requested him to abdicate in favour of another aspirant to the post from the privileged family of Mito.

§ 191. *Exodus of the daimios, their families and retainers, from Yedo.*—It also transpired that the leading daimio who introduced this important resolution into the convention was Etzizen

of a house next in importance to that of Satsuma. When the fact of its having passed became known to the inhabitants of Yedo, and they saw the commencement of an exodus from the capital, they were filled with surprise and dismay. The industrial classes saw in this movement the withdrawal of their best customers, and commercial ruin staring them in the face. For several days the populace became very much excited on the subject. The artificial nature of the prosperity of Yedo was such that by this movement the greater part might be swept away. They at once recognized the peculiarities of the position, and besieged the gates of the city Governor's residence; but he was perfectly helpless in the matter, and could not stem the outflowing torrent of daimios, retainers, and their families proceeding to the provinces. At one time there was a threatening appearance of some popular outbreak, but what could these unarmed citizens accomplish against the ferocious armed bands of retainers who rejoiced in the movement, as it would give them greater license and independence when away from the surveillance of the Siogoon's soldiery. By the end of October and the beginning of November the establishments of the first and second class of daimios were broken up, and the ladies with their households had taken their departure for the family mansions in the provinces. From that date the grandeur of the city of Yedo, as the capital of the Siogoon, rapidly declined, and there was every prospect of it becoming a second-rate city, until the Mikado himself took up his abode in it and began to restore its greatness on a more permanent basis than it had hitherto possessed.

§ 192. *Successful diplomacy of the Japanese Mission in Europe.* —While these important political changes in the government —threatening a *coup d'état*—were taking place, the Japanese Mission to the Courts of European Treaty Powers were fulfilling their duties with more success than was anticipated. They were well received at the British, French, Dutch, Prussian, and Russian Courts by their several monarchs, whose Ministers for Foreign Affairs unanimously agreed to the main object of their diplomacy in consenting to a delay in opening the ports of Hiogo, Osaka, and Nee-e-gata, from January 1863 to January 1868. Earl Russell, who was then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, signed a memorandum conjointly with the Japanese envoys, in which it was expressly stated that, since Her

Majesty's Government were willing to defer the opening of the ports, they expected that all other points of the treaty should be strictly executed, and that the Siogoon and his ministers would specifically abolish and do away with—1. All restrictions, whether as regards quantity or price, on the sale by Japanese to foreigners of all kinds of merchandise, according to Article XIV. of the Treaty of the 26th of August, 1858. 2. All restrictions on labour, and more particularly on the hire of carpenters, boatmen, boats, and coolies, teachers and servants, of whatever denomination. 3. All restrictions whereby daimios are prevented from sending their produce to market, and from selling the same by their own agents. 4. All restrictions limiting the class of persons who shall be allowed to trade with foreigners at the ports of Nagasaki, Hakodadi, and Yokohama. 5. All restrictions imposed on free intercourse of a social kind between foreigners and the people of Japan. These conditions, it was added, are only what the Japanese Government was already bound to fulfil; and, if not complied with, the concession with regard to the postponement of opening the ports for five years would fall to the ground, and the British Government would be free to insist upon their being immediately opened. Bearing in mind the tenor of Lord Elgin's treaty, the reader will understand our relations with Japan at the close of the year.

§ 193. *Summary of trade at the treaty ports at the close of the year.*—Trade at the treaty ports already open suffered considerably by the unsettled political condition of the country; and this was further trammelled by the unsatisfactory state of the currency in exchanging dollars for itziboos. According to treaty the foreigner was entitled to 311 of the latter for 100 of the former. It is true that diplomatic, naval, and military officers obtained this exchange, but the trader could only get 210 itziboos for 100 dollars, reducing his profits by nearly thirty per cent. At Yokohama very little business of importance was transacted during the remainder of the year; excepting in silk, which arrived in large quantities, but with no diminution in the high prices ruling. In imports the trade in tin and lead for ammunition was good, at an improvement in rates. At Nagasaki the British steamer 'Columbia' was sold to a wealthy daimio for the sum of eighty thousand dollars, part of the purchase-money to be paid in vegetable wax. A good deal of

barter was carried on in manufactured goods for native produce, chiefly tea and silk at high rates. Complaints were made that the Japanese authorities were exacting an unusually heavy ground-rent. For town lands it amounted to about a hundred pounds an acre, and for suburban lots about forty pounds. It was found that in all matters of money-making by trading and land-jobbing, they were equal to the cleverest foreigners. At Hakodadi the trade of the port was scarcely worth recording. Still it continued an important place of rendezvous for the Russian fleet in Japanese waters, and their expenditure for supplies added to the traffic. But at no time was there produce of much value exported, and that was chiefly carried on in native craft; while the imports of merchandise were very limited. Altogether the external commerce of Japan in 1862 was no improvement on the previous year.

CHAPTER XI.

1863.

DECREE TO EXPEL FOREIGNERS—NEW BRITISH LEGATION BUILDINGS AT YEDO BLOWN UP—AMERICAN LEGATION DESTROYED BY FIRE—ARRIVAL OF BRITISH SQUADRON IN YEDO BAY—INDEMNITY FOR OUTRAGES PAID.

§ 194. Notification of impending danger issued by the British *chargé d'affaires*. § 195. Decree of the Mikado ordering the Siogoon to expel foreigners. § 196. Daimios favourable to foreigners proscribed by an edict of the Mikado. § 197. The new British legation buildings at Yedo blown up with gunpowder. § 198. Done by incendiaries, probably instigated by the authorities. § 199. Not specially a blow against the British, but foreigners generally. § 200. A formidable allied fleet anchors in Yokohama Bay. § 201. Purport of British demands for reparation and redress. § 202. Precautions to be taken by residents should hostilities ensue. § 203. British shipmasters prepare to succour the residents. § 204. Perilous position of affairs, and stoppage of trade. § 205. The Siogoon leaves Yedo for Kioto—Reply to *ultimatum* postponed. § 206. Warlike state of matters at Nagasaki. Foreigners leaving the settlement. § 207. Assault on the Abbé Mermet de Cachon at Hakodadi. § 208. Policy and position of the American Minister at Yedo. § 209. American Legation residence destroyed by fire. § 210. Mikado and Siogoon repudiate payment of indemnity. § 211. The Siogoon powerless to punish Richardson's murderers. § 212. Admiral Kuper instructed to undertake coercive measures. § 213. Preparations in view of hostilities being commenced alarm the Government. § 214. They pay one indemnity, and send a written apology to the British Envoy for the outrages on the Legation at the capital.

§ 194. *Notification of danger issued by the British chargé d'affaires.*—This year opened inauspiciously for the residents at Yokohama. On the 3rd of January the British *chargé d'affaires* issued the following notification:—"A Governor of Foreign Affairs came at a late hour last night and communicated to me that further reports had reached the Gorogio, which had occasioned them much anxiety, respecting lawless persons meditating disorders in Yokohama. A band of ronins are reported to be seeking in the first place the assassination of the foreign representatives. The Japanese Government in making this communication declare that they are occupied in tracing this threatened danger to its source, and in adopting all other

means in their power to restore security. In the meanwhile they beg that great caution and discretion may be exercised by the foreign community in respect to exposing themselves on the tokaido and in the neighbourhood." At first many of the residents thought lightly of these warnings from the native authorities, but now they considered there were good grounds for apprehension, when they saw a steamer bringing down detachments of the Siogoon's soldiery to protect the settlement. On their part they were not idle, and at once enrolled themselves into a volunteer corps. It was reported that there were some four thousand ronins in Yedo and its vicinity, who had been disbanded by damios when they left the city, and had sworn to be revenged upon the foreigners who were the cause of all these misfortunes to them.

§ 195. *Decree of the Mikado to the Siogoon for the expulsion of foreigners.*—Not only was this fresh evidence of hostility to foreigners exhibited by disbanded retainers, but their late feudal masters, who had gone to Kioto, had incited the ministers of the youthful Mikado to issue a decree in his name, commanding the Siogoon, as his generalissimo, to expel the barbarians from the country. The following is a true translation of this document, which it should be borne in mind was proclaimed only ten years ago:—"For a long time the plan of expelling the barbarians has been thought upon by us, and although it has been put off up to the present time, the Imperial will cannot change. Whilst in the department of the Siogoon changes have been gradually made in every way in the carrying out of new systems, we have remarked the respect entertained for our will. But if now the sure expulsion of the barbarians does not take place, the hearts of the people will not be united. This causes great sorrow to the Imperial bosom. Let the Siogoon do all in his power to ensure the expulsion of the barbarians, and orders must be speedily given to all the daimios. Moreover, it is the duty of the Siogoon, as commander-in-chief of the army, to carry out the steps of the scheme. Quickly, and with haste complete the whole resolve; make certain what has been deliberated upon for the State up to the present; and determine on the precise time when communications with the ugly barbarians shall cease. You will present a report to us on this matter."

§ 196. *Daimios favourable to foreigners proscribed by the*

Mikado.—At the time this mandate was dispatched to the Siogoon, proscriptions of the most extensive kind were made against the daimios. No less than a hundred and ten of the first and second classes were degraded and deprived of half their possessions. While this number included nearly all those who had personal intercourse with foreigners, the names of those who were hostile to their residence in the country were not to be found in the list. A translation of this list was handed to the editor of the 'Japan Herald,' who published a dozen of proscribed names in his journal, with the full details of their titles, together with the charge brought against each, and the punishment awarded. These facts were inferred to have been supplied by the Japanese authorities to a foreign source of information for the purpose of showing that if the treaties were to be repudiated by the Mikado, it would be, if not necessary, at least convenient, to affirm that they were made altogether without his knowledge. Of this no better proof could be afforded than the punishment of those who were cognizant of what was going on while the treaties were being negotiated.

§ 197. *The new British Legation buildings at Yedo blown up by gunpowder.*—Before Mr. Alcock left Yedo for his temporary residence of the legation at Yokohama, he in conjunction with M. Bellecourt, and certain Japanese functionaries, fixed upon a site in the city where all the foreign legations could be built without removing any native buildings. The ground chosen was an elevated plateau, having a commanding prospect of the city and bay, a tolerably direct communication with the water, and, what was most important, in an excellent position to construct defensive works. Being chosen at the time the first attack on the British Legation was still rife, the Government not only freely conceded the site, but undertook of their own accord to make it defensible by a deep moat and strong double palisade. The site was very extensive, and named *Goten-yama*, signifying "Imperial Hill." It was one of the favourite places the inhabitants of the business quarters of the city resorted to on high days and holidays, to breathe the fresh air, after being pent up in their close streets, and where the young people and children could romp about. It might be compared to Primrose Hill, where Londoners from the East-end love to congregate on holidays. As these children of toil would not like to see half-a-dozen great Japanese palaces, with extensive grounds covering

their favourite hill to their exclusion, so the Yedoers did not approve of the "barbarian" legation palaces being built on their recreation grounds. In order to exclude the populace, the site was guarded by a detachment of the Siogoon's soldiery while entrenchments were excavated. No time was lost in commencing to build the British Legation, upon an extensive and imposing plan, commensurate with the prestige of the leading embassy in Japan. The foundations were begun in March, 1862, and the structure was progressing when Lieutenant-Colonel Neale took charge of the legation. Evidently the authorities repented of having conceded this noble site, or they saw danger in locating these foreigners at a spot from whence the city could be bombarded in case of fresh outrages on their quarters. Be that as it may, they urgently requested Colonel Neale to stop the building. They proposed to give the British any other site he might choose from a number at their disposal, and to bear all the expense of removing what had been already built. This proposition he rejected, and the edifice rose upon the site gradually until it was nearly finished in January, 1863. All this time, though the site was guarded by an armed force, yet the building itself was unprotected, at the inner part of the spacious area. In this position the building stood unharmed up to the evening of the 31st of January, and unoccupied by either foreigner or native. Early on the following morning about two o'clock, when the city was wrapt in silence and darkness, the surrounding guard beheld with consternation the new edifice suddenly burst out into flames in several places simultaneously. Then came a succession of loud explosions, and large portions of stone and brickwork were blown up into the air, which deterred them from approaching too near, if they had any intention to try and extinguish the fire. So fierce was the conflagration, and so frequent were the explosions, that gunpowder and highly inflammable combustibles must have been employed to undermine the building, and destroy it in less than half an hour. When the raging flames were at their height, the reports of twenty-one guns were heard booming in succession from a spot on the outskirts of the Goten-yama, reverberating through the city, as if to announce the destruction of the detested foreigners' dwelling.

§ 198. *Incendiaries probably instigated by the authorities.*—When daylight came only a heap of smouldering ruins was

seen on the site of the intended new British Legation buildings. On examining the grounds it was found that the detached outhouses were untouched, but they contained a large quantity of gunpowder and matches, as if kept in reserve. Around the building a strong palisade was erected, this was cut through evidently to give ingress and egress to a body of men. Everywhere showed that it was abundantly manifest the conflagration was the work of skilful and determined incendiaries, and careful withal of human life, for not a vestige of any person having been injured was visible. But who were these incendiaries? That was the question asked of the authorities by Colonel Neale when the news of the disaster reached him. Of course they denied all knowledge of the miscreants who had committed the crime, and promised to make ample amends for the loss sustained. It was quite clear, however, that not only could they tell who were the incendiaries, but in all probability the deed was done at their instigation, or at all events by the myrmidons of some daimio hostile to foreigners. Moreover, there was something significant in the time and accessories of this remarkable scene in the British drama of Japan. February 1st was a Sunday, and the destruction of this building to be inhabited by Christians was emblematic of their wish to make a funeral pyre of the hated believers in Christianity. In like manner the firing of twenty-one guns was done in mockery of the royal salute they were compelled to fire when the British flag was hoisted the second time at the temple-residence of Tozengee. Altogether the blowing up of the new Legation building at Goten-yama was of a highly dramatic character, and characteristic of the sensational Japanese; but happily exceptional in their attacks on foreigners and their dwellings, in the absence of any sanguinary tragic scene.

§ 199. *Not specially a blow against the British, but on foreigners.* —A lull of two months followed this incendiary outrage against British interests, which some persons were inclined to consider as specially directed against our representatives, because the new building for the French in progress on the same site was left untouched. But this was no criterion of special outrage against any particular nationality, for the new British Legation was left uninjured until almost finished. Then, when the members of the embassy were about to take possession, the time had come to destroy it so as to prevent their

residence at the capital. So it was intended with the French building to blow it up when ready for occupancy. Thus it was that Colonel Neale and Mr. Alcock ascertained that the deadly animosity against the legation arose from enmity to them as foreigners and not national representatives. At the same time, as British subjects and property had suffered most in the category of crimes committed, it was befitting that the naval representatives of Great Britain in Japanese waters should take the lead in demanding ample reparation for the past and security for the future at the cannon's mouth, if not otherwise indemnified. The time had now come, and the avenging Nemesis was at hand.

§ 200. *Great assemblage of war ships in Yokohama Harbour.*—Towards the end of March and beginning of April a fleet of European men-of-war assembled in Yedo Bay of a more formidable character than had ever been seen in Japanese waters. First came H.M.'s frigate 'Euryalus,' the flag-ship of Rear-Admiral Kuper, just appointed naval commander-in-chief in China and Japan. Then day after day the British ensign was descried fluttering on the masts of the following vessels as they proudly sailed up to the anchorage off Yokohama:—The corvettes, brigs, and sloops, 'Pearl,' 'Centaur,' 'Argus,' 'Rattler,' 'Racehorse,' 'Ringdove,' and 'Scout;' the gun-boats, 'Havoc' and 'Kestrel,' and the 'Hesper,' store-ship. Then came the Dutch men-of-war, 'Medusa' and 'Admiral von Koopman,' and the French ships 'Dupleix' and 'Dordogne.' Besides these there were in harbour six large British merchantmen, steamers and sailing vessels:—the 'Shanghai,' 'Leemin,' 'Armistice,' 'Carausius,' 'Nile,' and 'London;' all ready to give aid in demanding redress and reparation for the wrongs inflicted on British subjects.

§ 201. *Purport of British demands for reparation and redress.*—Admiral Kuper, on his departure from England, received special instructions from Her Majesty's Government to assist with the naval forces under his command, and, in conjunction with Colonel Neale, to exact retribution from the contumacious Japanese, bringing dispatches from Earl Russell to him of the same purport. After due deliberation Her Majesty's *Chargé d'Affaires* addressed a note to the Government on the 6th of April, the tenor of which may be gathered from the following extract of a communication to Consul Winchester, who had resumed his

post at Yokohama—for public information:—"Yokohama, April 6th, 1863. Sir,—I have already made known to you the purport of a note I have this day presented to the Japanese Government, containing a declaration of grievances and unrequited outrages of which British subjects have been the victims and sufferers, and for which, under instructions from Her Majesty's Government, I have demanded a specific reparation within a noted period of time. The attack upon Her Majesty's Legation at Yedo on the 26th of June last, when two of the guard from H.M.S. 'Renard' were treacherously murdered, and the subsequent barbarous murder of Mr. Richardson, and murderous assault committed on the same occasion upon a lady and two other gentlemen, British subjects, are special outrages for which reparation is now demanded. That reparation comprises the trial and capital execution of the murderers of Mr. Richardson, a heavy pecuniary penalty on Japan for that offence, and a considerable compensation for the sufferers or their surviving relatives. It is sincerely to be hoped that the Government of the Tycoon, influenced by wise and just reflections, will yield a ready compliance to the demands thus rendered necessary by these unprovoked and outrageous acts. On the other hand, in the possible contingency which exists of the Japanese Government refusing to accede to these demands, or hoping to evade them by futile arguments or procrastination, it becomes my duty to apprise you of the inevitable adoption in such an event of coercive measures by the Rear-Admiral commanding-in-chief Her Majesty's naval forces in these seas, now arrived here with a considerable force, and furnished with instructions to the above effect analogous to my own. Twenty days dating from the 6th instant is the period allotted as the term which I will await the definite and categorical reply of the Japanese Government, and the nature of which, when received, will decide the adoption or otherwise of coercive measures, the duration and severity of which will be proportioned to the degree of ill-advised obstinacy or resistance which the Japanese Government may assume. Under these circumstances I have to instruct you to call a meeting of the British residents within your consular jurisdiction, or of a committee appointed by them, and make known to them the purport of this dispatch."

§ 202. *Precautions to be taken by residents should hostilities*

ensue.—On the publication of this communication it was accompanied by a notification from Consul Winchester, advising the British residents to take individual precautions for the safety of their persons and property in the event of hostile operations. On this head he remarked, "I request you will particularly take notice that the object of Her Majesty's *Chargé d'Affaires* in directing me to acquaint you with the tenor of his dispatch is to enable British subjects to take such timely measures of prudence and precaution in reference to their commercial and individual interests, as they may consider the circumstances require them to adopt. The Admiral proposes to concert with the chiefs of the other foreign nations such arrangements as may best tend to secure the safety of the settlement. It is especially my duty, in the grave state of our relations with the Government of this country, to impress upon you in the plainest terms the expediency and necessity of observing the greatest circumspection and courtesy in your intercourse with the natives of all ranks and classes—to avoid all acts which may lead to complications likely to render still more difficult the position of those entrusted with the control of Her Majesty's affairs in this country; and by the exercise of a discreet self-restraint, shun all occasions of unnecessary exposure to personal risk." This advice was followed by the whole foreign community.

§ 203. *British shipmasters prepare to succour the residents.*—Nor should we omit to record the generous intentions of the masters of British merchantmen—whose names have been given—to succour the community of Yokohama on board their vessels in the event of hostilities endangering their lives on shore. A meeting was held by them on board the 'Leemin,' Captain Grange, at which it was resolved to arrange a plan for the organization of boats and crews to put them at the service of the foreign residents, and superintend their embarkation; to form a rendezvous on shore; to hoist alarm signals by day and night in the event of attack, and all who presented themselves at the rendezvous to be at once taken on board the nearest ship, until arrangements be made to distribute them among the other vessels. It was also arranged that the volunteer corps should be on the *qui vive*, to guard the approaches to the rendezvous at the residence of Samuel Maine, in Main Street. These preparations and precautions will show the state of

apprehension in which every foreigner ashore and afloat, from the highest to the lowest, was in at this perilous time.

§ 204. *Perilous aspect of affairs, and stoppage of trade.*—Every day and night during the month of April was passed with the utmost anxiety by all awaiting the issue of affairs. Great excitement, also, prevailed among the natives residing within the precincts of the settlement. The Japanese traders, and native servants to foreigners were leaving for their homes. As affairs assumed a warlike aspect the merchants brought large quantities of silk into the market, and an active business was transacted for upwards of a week, when 2800 bales were settled for. Suddenly there came a panic among the dealers, the supplies were stopped and the market was cleared in two days. Reports had come in that a large force of armed men were assembling in the vicinity of Yokohama; most of them retainers and ronins of the Satsuma and Mito clans, besides other daimios inimical to foreigners. It was said, also, that a large force of the Siogoon's soldiery were gathering, prepared to defend the settlement. This warlike aspect of affairs induced Admiral Kuper to send the 'Racehorse' on to Shanghai, requesting Brigadier-General Brown to send a reinforcement of a thousand infantry; but the state of matters in China was equally warlike, in consequence of the Taiping rebellion, so he could not comply with the request at the time.

§ 205. *Siogoon leaves for Kioto—Reply to "ultimatum" postponed.*—No collision occurred, but the time drew near (26th of April) when a reply should come from the Government to Colonel Neale's *ultimatum*. On the day previous a messenger came in great haste with a communication from the Gorogio, requesting him, in urgent terms, to postpone the period for the final and categorical answer to the British demands. One of the chief arguments for delay was the fact that the Siogoon had gone to Kioto, and the documents were forwarded there for his decision, after consulting with the Ministers of the Mikado. Sometime previous to this it was known that the generalissimo was on the eve of proceeding to the old metropolis, in accordance with a mandate from his sovereign; and that he had purchased the British steamer 'Jin-Kee,' for a hundred and fifty thousand dollars, to proceed thither by sea, instead of the route by land. Only two days before the arrival of Admiral Kuper in the 'Euryalus,' he took his departure, in all proba-

bility hastened by the intelligence of the British fleet sailing for Yedo Bay. This, and other reasons, being valid excuses for an immediate settlement of affairs, Her Majesty's *Chargé d'Affaires* consented to a postponement of the final reply to his *ultimatum* until the 21st of May.

§ 206. *Warlike state of affairs at Nagasaki—Foreigners leaving.*—At Nagasaki the foreign residents were in even a greater state of apprehension than the community of Yokohama, for they were so much fewer, and almost unprotected by ships of war. There was a total cessation of trade, and most of the native traders had left the new settlement. They also learned that there was a large assemblage of Satsuma's retainers in the environs, ready to make an attack upon the place. Moreover, six new batteries were being erected with great rapidity on *points d'appui* in the harbour. They were constructed chiefly of bags filled with sand, and mud ramparts, on which were mounted 32-pounder guns. The sites were selected so as to command the settlement, and that part of the bay where the foreign shipping lay at anchor. These indications of approaching hostilities paralyzed all business, consequently most of the foreign merchants settled up their affairs, shipped what merchandise they had, and sailed in the vessels for China.

§ 207. *Assault on the Abbé Mermet de Cachon at Hakodadi.*—At Hakodadi there were so few foreigners, and the trade was so limited, that its insignificance as a treaty port exempted it almost from the presence of hostile daimios and their retainers. Nevertheless, a case occurred which showed that even there the sanguinary hatred to foreigners prevailed. The Abbé Mermet de Cachon had apostolic charge of the Roman Catholic medical mission there, and was an accomplished Japanese linguist. He took into his service a new *betto* or groom. Going into his stable one day this man assaulted him with the back end of an axe on the head. Fortunately his native doctor, a two-sworded Yakonin, was at hand, and the man was secured, while uttering imprecations on his master. It transpired that he was a bad character, and most probably hired to murder the Abbé because he knew so much of the country, and could speak the language. The Abbé left soon afterwards for France. All these aspects of the three treaty ports show that, in the summer of this year, the old hatred to foreigners, instead of subsiding, was more violent than ever.

§ 208. *Policy and position of the American Minister at Yedo.*—During these exciting times among diplomatists, naval men, and civilians, General Pruyn, successor to Mr. Harris the American Envoy, stood almost aloof from his European colleagues, remaining unmolested at the temple-residence of the legation named *Dseu-foo-dsee.* There were several reasons for this isolation on his part. His Government were averse to the policy inaugurated by Mr. Alcock and endorsed by the envoys of France, Holland, and Prussia; and they considered that a *laissez-faire* policy was more in accordance with the spirit of American diplomacy. Be it so. But it must be taken into consideration that, during these momentous events in Japan, the civil war was raging in his own country, which prevented the appearance of, or an occasional visit from, a United States man-of-war in Japanese waters to support the dignity of his position. Not only was this the case, but the fear of the 'Alabama' or some other confederate cruiser appearing in the far East had swept nearly every American merchantman from these seas, or caused their bottoms to be transferred to British or German owners. Hence his "occupation was gone," as he had little or no consular agency to look after; and he deemed himself and his Legation residence safe from the assaults and conflagrations that had driven his British colleagues to take refuge in Yokohama.

§ 209. *American Legation residence destroyed by fire.*—Vain were the conceit and sanguine hopes of the American Minister that he would escape the doom of the *foreigner* in Japan. Already his predecessor's secretary had been assassinated, for which the paltry recompense of ten thousand dollars had been accepted for Mr. Howskin's aged mother and relatives. So far this was right, but the Minister failed to assert the dignity of his nation by demanding the execution of the assassins. Doubtless he was to a certain extent left unmolested by the impotence of his position, but it was because no American squadron had shown the proud "stars and stripes" fluttering in the breeze at any of the new treaty ports, excepting an occasional visit from the 'Wyoming' steam corvette. On the 22nd of May, about midnight, an officer of the Government waited upon General Pruyn, with a detachment of the Siogoon's bodyguard, for the purpose of escorting him to Yokohama for safety, as they had just ascertained that he, in common with

all foreigners, was in imminent danger of his life. The General thanked the officer, but declined to move the American Legation from Yedo. Next night a fire broke out in the temple somewhere near the kitchen, and spread so rapidly that the whole building was consumed in an amazingly short time; giving *proofs that* it was an act of incendiarism with highly inflammable combustibles, similar to the fire at the new British Legation building. So speedily did the destructive element overtake the flimsy wood and paper work that the inmates barely escaped with their lives, losing all their own effects, excepting the clothes in which they stood. The only articles saved were the safes containing the archives, which the General by some extraordinary effort rescued from the flames. His own loss of personal property amounted to upwards of ten thousand dollars. No lives were lost, nor did any accident occur to the members of the legation or their servants, but suspicious-looking characters were seen in the neighbourhood, which put them on their guard. At the same time the American consul at Kanagawa received warning from the authorities, which he prudently attended to by signalling to the 'Wyoming' for a boat to take himself and family away from the seat of danger. He also advised his countrymen belonging to the mission in that town to leave with him, which they assented to, so they were all conveyed on Sunday to Yokohama; and on Monday the 25th they were joined by Colonel Pruyn and his staff from Yedo. At that date, therefore, there was not a single foreigner resident at the capital or in Kanagawa; so that the exclusive policy of the hostile daimios and the Mikado's Ministers was so far successful that they were all confined to the prison-like settlement of Yokohama, while Nagasaki was literally being deserted by the foreign traders.

§ 210. *Mikado and Siogoon repudiate payment of indemnity.*—This success of their terrorism policy emboldened the malcontents, who thronged the Mikado's Court of Kioto, to try and evade a categorical reply to the *ultimatum* of Her Majesty's *Chargé d'Affaires*. He, desirous not to involve the British Government in a costly war with Japan, dealt tenderly with the Japanese diplomatists, and agreed to further postponements of bringing matters to an issue; so much so, that he was taxed with unnecessary vacillation. After urgent demands he succeeded in eliciting a promise that the indemnity of four

hundred and forty thousand Mexican dollars (equivalent to 100,000*l.*) should be paid by instalments. The first of these was due on the 18th of June, and the sum to be paid in hard cash by the Governor of Yokohama. That functionary came to Colonel Neale the night previous, and informed him that he had received a communication from the Siogoon at Kioto, commanding him not to pay the money; because if he did so, the generalissimo would lose his life. The Siogoon, he said, was the friend, and the Mikado the enemy of foreigners; but he was obliged to obey the commands of his sovereign. The news too, he affirmed, had spread among the people, who stoutly opposed the payment of any indemnity. This was an example of the tergiversation and delay of these oriental diplomatists, following up their system of terrorism, by which they expected that the hated foreigners would voluntarily abandon the settlements, and leave them again in their isolation from the Western world. Indeed about this time Her Majesty's *Chargé d'Affaires* contemplated some step of the kind; for in a communication to Consul Winchester he writes: "On my part I have not failed urgently to advise, through yourself, British subjects and the foreign community generally to be prepared for the worst and most regrettable emergency which could arise; namely, the necessity which might present itself (with a view to the security of their persons and property) of abandoning the open ports." Accordingly the foreign community held themselves in readiness to take their departure.

§ 211. *The Siogoon powerless to punish Richardson's murderers.*—As to the more serious demand of bringing the murderers and their instigator to trial and capital punishment for the assassination of Mr. Richardson, we may infer from the defiant position of the Satsuma clan that it was laughed to scorn. The chief offender was Shimadzoo Saburo, as we have stated, the father of the reigning daimio, but *de facto* the chieftain of that powerful sept. At this time he and his adherents were more independent in the state than the Siogoon and his government. No wonder then that the envoys of the generalissimo to the British *Chargé d'Affaires* informed him their master was totally unable to compel Satsuma to comply with this demand. If these were to be persevered in, they must be made to the daimio himself. This was the only alternative that could be adopted in bringing him to terms, which was acquiesced

in; so the Siogoon sent a letter of warning to him, it is said, advising compliance rather than allow matters to proceed to extremities.

§ 212. *Admiral Kuper instructed to undertake coercive measures.*—At this momentous juncture, Colonel Neale seeing that the Japanese Ministers had "flagrantly, unequivocally, and designedly broken their faith" diplomatically, handed over the consummation of the *ultimatum* to Admiral Kuper, who was to be aided by the French admiral Jaurez, in undertaking coercive measures. Immediately this was done, the gallant Admiral issued the following notification to Consul Winchester, which he read at a meeting of British residents:—"'Euryalus,' at Yokohama, June 21st, 1863. Sir,—Her Majesty's *Chargé d'Affaires* has placed in my hands the solution of the questions at issue between the Japanese Government and that of Her Majesty, in consequence of all peaceful and diplomatic negotiations having failed to bring the Government of the Siogoon to a due sense of its obligations. The instructions under which in this contingency it will now be my duty to act will necessarily involve coercive measures to be undertaken by the naval force under my command; and, as such measures will probably lead to action on the part of the Japanese, which would endanger the safety not only of British subjects, but also of all foreign residents in Japan, I have to request that you will forthwith communicate the circumstance to all British subjects, and to the consuls of Foreign Powers, with a view to their immediately adopting such steps as they may think desirable for the security of their persons and property, the force at my disposal being inadequate for the efficient protection of Yokohama, while carrying out the instructions of Her Majesty's Government in other parts of Japan. In order that the community may have sufficient time to make arrangements for their personal security, I desire that you will inform them that unless called on by any initiative act of hostility on the part of the Japanese to maintain the dignity of the British flag, I shall not take any hostile step until the expiration of eight days inclusive. I have also to acquaint you that all the precautionary measures adopted some weeks since for the speedy relief of the foreign community, in the event of any sudden attack or disturbance, will be continued during the interval mentioned, and subsequently, if possible, with the same vigilance as hitherto, and such addi-

tional assistance rendered as will be consistent with the duty of preserving the efficiency of Her Majesty's ships. Under the existing state of affairs, and the great probability of approaching strife and turmoil, I think it necessary to recommend most strongly that all those of the community who have wives and families at Yokohama should take the earliest opportunity of removing them, at any rate from the scene of danger, should they themselves determine upon awaiting the issue of events.—Augustus L. Kuper, Vice-Admiral and Commander-in-Chief." Many of the residents complied with the Admiral's request, and removed their families and most valuable effects on board the merchant ships in harbour or left for China. However, as Admiral Jaurez undertook to defend Yokohama, there was no exodus similar to what took place at Nagasaki.

§ 213. *Preparations in view of hostilities alarms the authorities.*—Immediately after the publication of Admiral Kuper's dispatch to Consul Winchester, preparations to defend the foreign settlement at Yokohama began in earnest. It so happened that, from its isolated plan, this was a comparatively easy matter, as the narrow approaches to it could be defended from an attack, especially where the assailants would be chiefly armed with swords and lances. Had the community been located in the city or suburb of Kanagawa, as at first agreed upon, they would have required to move bodily away to seek safety for person and property. So that what at first was deemed a prison settlement, became a kind of citadel in the event of hostilities, under the protection of foreign ships of war. Perhaps this was apparent to the daimios and their followers, who intended to drive the foreigners into the sea; for no actual attempt was made, though it was known there were bands of armed men hovering in the vicinity ready to strike a blow. Then the authorities, seeing such active preparations going on, took alarm at the possibility of Kanagawa, or even the quarters of Yedo overlooking the bay, being bombarded. Rather than this should happen, they hastily resolved to comply with the British demand of a hundred thousand pounds, and tendering an apology for the murderous attack on the British Legation, leaving the Richardson assassination to be settled with Satsuma. Accordingly at midnight, on the 23rd of June, some authorized officials came from the Siogoon's Government to treat with Colonel Neale; but not having access to him, they went to the

French Envoy and obtained an interview, requesting him to act in the matter, which he did. A reply was sent, stating that, as the Japanese had suffered matters to go so far, the whole indemnity must be paid in full and at once, with the addition of ten thousand pounds as recompense to the families of the corporal of marines and seamen of Her Majesty's ship 'Renard,' murdered at the Legation on June 26, 1862.

§ 214. *Indemnities paid and apology given by Government.*—With the utmost promptitude the terms of the British *ultimatum*, so far as the Siogoon's Government was involved, were complied with. Next morning (June 24th), at seven o'clock, the money was brought to Her Majesty's Legation, consisting of four hundred and forty thousand dollars of clean Mexican coinage, and were duly counted out by the official "shroffs." This was followed up by a letter of apology from the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, expressive of regret at the murders and outrages committed in Japan on British subjects during the course of the year previous, of which the following is a literal translation transmitted to Earl Russell by Lieutenant-Colonel Neale:—"We communicate with you by a dispatch. Last year at the British Legation in Yedo a wicked and murderous act took place. Again on the *Tokaido* a British subject was murdered. Such unfortunate affairs were highly to be regretted. Thus we hope that affairs likely to break off the intercourse between the two countries may not again arise. We desire to inform you thus much. Respectful and humble communication. (July 3rd, 1863.)" While the amount of indemnity was paid exact to a dollar, and without comment, the terms of the apology were not so easily settled. Her Majesty's *Chargé d'Affaires*, while not over exacting, declined to accept two other apologies, as in translation they were obscure and undefined. At the same time these functionaries notified all the representatives of Foreign Powers that the Siogoon, then at Kioto, had instructed them to obey the Mikado's orders to expel foreigners and close the ports. They, of course, declined even to discuss such a grave question, stating it would be referred to their respective Governments. Upon this they formally intimated that the Siogoon's Government could no longer be responsible for attacks on foreign life and property, and they left the legations, consulates, and domiciles of residents in the settlement to the protection of their own naval and military forces.

CHAPTER XII.

1863 (CONTINUED).

AMERICAN, FRENCH, AND DUTCH SHIPS FIRED ON FROM BATTERIES AT WEST ENTRANCE TO INLAND SEA — THESE INSULTS AVENGED — BOMBARDMENT OF KAGOSIMA — SATSUMA SUCCUMBS — ASSASSINATION OF A FRENCH OFFICER.

§ 215. Secret strengthening of all the Japanese fortifications. § 216. Two Japanese war-ships attack an American steamer at Simanosaki. § 217. French dispatch-boat 'Kienchang' attacked at Simanosaki. § 218. Dutch corvette 'Medusa,' fired on, engages the batteries. § 219. American corvette 'Wyoming' avenges attack on 'Pembroke.' § 220. French frigate 'Semiramis' does the same for the 'Kienchang.' § 221. Position and antecedents of Chosiu, the old daimio of Nagato. § 222. Bombardment of Kagosima by the British squadron. § 223. Losses on both sides during the engagement. § 224. It has the desired effect on Shimadzoo Saburo, the old daimio of Satsuma. § 225. Amicable adjustment of the British demands by him. § 226. Assassination of a French military officer at Yokohama. § 227. Threatening state of affairs at Nagasaki and Simanosaki. § 228. Tranquillity and dulness of trade at Hakodadi. § 229. General review of trade at the treaty ports during the year.

§ 215. *Secret strengthening of the Japanese fortifications.*— Meanwhile the daimios hostile to the foreigners were secretly arming their forces and manning their batteries with foreign rifles, ordnance, and munitions of war, besides manufacturing them extensively at their own factories. Steamers were also in great demand, with a view to convert them into war-ships, and high prices were given for several *bonâ fide* men-of-war, such as the 'Nagasaki,' twelve guns, for which a hundred thousand dollars were paid; and also the Dutch corvette 'Soembing,' mounting eight heavy guns. Of merchant steamers, somewhere about twenty had been purchased, at prices ranging between fifty thousand and a hundred and thirty thousand dollars. At all the fortified places the batteries were not only increased, but guns of large calibre were being mounted, in order to give the enemy a warm reception in the event of bombardment. It became evident that not only were great preparations made

to resist foreign invasion, but the wealthiest and most warlike feudal barons and their adherents were burning to come into collision with the enemy and try conclusions on his own system of warfare. As yet they had no experience of a naval action or bombardment; but when they saw the strength of their new armaments they felt confident the foreign forces could be repulsed with great slaughter, if not the destruction of the ships that would engage their forts.

§ 216. *Two Japanese war-ships attack an American steamer at Simanosaki.*—Affairs were in this warlike and portentous condition towards the close of June when a hostile daimio was the first to fire a shot, and that at an American merchant-steamer, showing that no flag was exempt from attack. This vessel was named the 'Pembroke,' and on her passage from Yokohama to Shanghai. Her course lay through the Kii Channel, between the islands of Nip-pon, Sikok, and Kiusiu, leading into the Suwo Nada, the western division of what geographers call the Inland Sea of Japan; declared by all navigators and travellers who have sailed through it to be unparalleled for its beauty of scenery and numerous commodious harbours. At its western entrance ships have to pass through the Strait of Simanosaki, barely a mile wide, with bold bluffs on the southern and northern sides, both fortified; and a large town of the same name on the latter shore, within the feudal barony of Nagato, the extreme south-west territory of the great Island of Nip-pon. As the 'Pembroke' steamed up the Inland Sea she passed a large sailing-ship, barque-rigged and foreign built, heavily armed and well manned. The steamer came to an anchor about 4 P.M., not far from the entrance to Simanosaki Strait, and was followed by the barque, which had by this time hoisted the Japanese man-of-war ensign, and took up a position about a quarter of a mile off. When she was approaching, a gun was fired from a battery, and the signal was repeated all along the coast. Nothing transpired until about one o'clock in the morning, when the treacherous Japanese fired a dozen broadside shots into the defenceless American, which cut away part of her rigging. Then an armed brig suddenly appeared to windward, and both fired as rapidly as they could load and discharge, but without doing much damage, the night being dark. By this time steam was got up, and the 'Pembroke' escaped from her assailants out of range to the open sea,

by way of the Bungo Channel, which is very seldom used by foreign vessels. During the attack a great many lights were seen on shore, and the noise of boats being manned was distinguished. When the brig came up a terrific yell was raised on board both vessels, but they were evidently not ready to fire. If they had, the steamer would have been sunk to a certainty, as she was not more than one hundred and twenty feet distant before her anchor was weighed and the ship out of range.

§ 217. *French dispatch-boat 'Kienchang' attacked at Simanosaki.*—Ten days after the foregoing occurrence the 'Kienchang,' a French dispatch-boat, belonging to the squadron under Admiral Jaurez, was on a voyage through the Inland Sea, and anchored near Simanosaki Strait, about the same place as the 'Pembroke' had done. She was not long there when the same barque and brig that attacked that steamer opened fire upon her, together with several forts on the northern shore. The commander, not knowing what was the cause of this, ordered a boat to be lowered to make some inquiry, but before it could be launched a round shot smashed it in pieces. Upon this he slipped his cable, and steamed with all haste through the strait, the vessel only escaping being sunk by steering through a hitherto untried channel. As it was, she received considerable damage in her hull; but fortunately, though the shot crossed her in great numbers, besides shell, no lives were sacrificed. The forts on the southern shore did not participate in the attack, otherwise the vessel must inevitably have sunk under the cross-fire.

§ 218. *Dutch corvette 'Medusa' has an engagement at Simanosaki.*—As the 'Kienchang' was entering the outer entrance to Nagasaki Harbour, the Dutch man-of-war 'Medusa' was leaving, bound for Yokohama *viâ* the Inland Sea. Lieutenant Lafont, commanding the dispatch-boat, having dispatches for the Dutch, boarded the corvette, and informed the commander of what had happened. Immediately he put on all steam and sail, and reached Simanosaki Strait on the 11th of July at seven o'clock in the morning. On the 'Medusa' entering the channel she was saluted with shotted guns from the north battery and the brig. Immediately the decks were cleared for action, and a smart engagement ensued. A cross-fire of round shot came from the batteries on shore, and a shower of shot

and shell from the ships, but the direction of their fire was too high to do much damage. The return fire told well, as it was at not more than two or three cables' distance; but the 'Medusa' could not approach the vessels near enough to sink them on account of shallow water, although they were damaged considerably, as well as the battery. They now steamed slowly through the strait, firing shot and shell, passing no less than nine batteries concealed in the brushwood or lurking behind rocks, which hulled her twenty-four times, besides igniting the bulwarks and engine-room. After an hour and a half of this hot fire she got through the strait beyond range, but not before there were four killed and five wounded. The commander reported that the shot and shell from some of the guns were of heavy calibre, and if they had taken effect on his engines the ship would have been sunk. The chief gunner was killed, and the Netherlands Consul-General, who was on board, nearly became a victim to the same shot.

§ 219. *American corvette 'Wyoming' avenges attack on 'Pembroke.'*—When the news reached Yokohama of the unprovoked attack on the 'Pembroke,' the American Envoy at once determined to avenge it and support the dignity of the United States flag. Accordingly he ordered Captain McDougal, U.S.N., of the 'Wyoming,' to proceed to the scene of attack and punish the perpetrators. She sailed from Yedo Bay on the 13th of July, and entered the Inland Sea by Boungo Channel on the third day. On nearing Simanosaki Strait a signal-gun was fired from a masked battery on the northern shore, which was repeated by two others near the town. Rounding a point, the barque and brig, with a steamer, were descried lying at anchor near the north shore. The two latter were made out to be the 'Lancefield' and 'Lanrick,' purchased from British owners in China, but the barque's name was unknown. All the vessels were flying the Japanese war-flag at the peak, and the family colours, blue and white, of Nagato at the main. The 'Wyoming' steered straight for the vessels, when a battery fifty feet above sea-level opened fire, damaging her rigging. Up went the United States' flag, and a broadside was discharged at the batteries, while she steamed in between the vessels, firing on both sides, hulling the brig and steamer. The latter, having steam up, slipped her cable and tried to escape; but an 11-inch shell struck her amidships, and

two more disabled her. All this time the batteries poured a deadly fire on the corvette, which had only four 32-pounders and two pivot-guns to reply to six batteries mounting thirty-four guns, so the commander deemed it prudent to retire from the unequal contest and proceed to Yokohama. When the engagement was over, it was found that four men were killed outright and seven wounded, one mortally. The action lasted an hour and ten minutes; the 'Wyoming' receiving about thirty shots in the masts, rigging, and funnel, with eleven in the hull.

§ 220. *Admiral Jaurez avenges the attack on the French dispatch-boat 'Kienchang.'*—After this gallant exploit of the 'Wyoming,' Admiral Jaurez determined to retaliate for the attack upon the 'Kienchang' dispatch-boat. On the 20th he entered the narrow strait in his flag-ship the frigate 'Semiramis,' and followed by the 'Tancrède' corvette. He steamed slowly through the channel, keeping a sharp look-out for the masked batteries, one of which opened fire from the midst of the trees. The first gun-shot fired in reply from a 68-pounder, sent earthwork and stones, turf and sand-bags flying in all directions. The bombardment was then continued for two hours, but not a shot was returned from the shore, except one battery that fired upon the 'Tancrède,' in the narrowest part of the strait. This was silenced, and a party of marines were landed, who found it deserted. The guns were at once spiked and the powder cast into the water. While this was going on in the battery, the Admiral, with another detachment of marines and blue-jackets, advanced by the right to a village, which was abandoned, but they had to keep up a continual fire upon armed men lurking among the bushes. These were estimated at two thousand strong in battle array, led by officers in armour on horseback. A temple was ignited by the fire of the French, which blew up with a great explosion, as the force was re-embarking, showing that it had been used as a powder-magazine. Thus the affair ended, and the Admiral took his departure for Yokohama, after accomplishing the object of the expedition. His ships received no damage, but three of the crew were wounded. This engagement had the desired effect, at least for the time being, of allowing ships to pass through the Simanosaki Strait without molestation, for H.M.'s gun-boat 'Coquette' entered the Inland Sea by Bungo Channel to reconnoitre, and anchored for five hours off the forts without a shot being fired; while

some of the officers and men went on shore, and were treated by the natives with the utmost courtesy. The following is a translation of a proclamation by Admiral Jaurez to the inhabitants:—"The French Admiral makes it known to the inhabitants of Nagato that their Prince, Matzdaira Daizen no-Daiboo, having shot at a vessel under the French flag the other day without any reason, he, the Admiral, considering this a grave insult done to his country, comes to day to punish this Prince for his insolence. However, the Admiral not having the intention of hurting the peaceable inhabitants of Nagato, neither them nor their families, nor to cause them any damage so long as they do not offer him any resistance, invites them not to have any fear. So far from having anything to fear from us, on the contrary, those who come on board will be received with kindness, since a treaty of friendship has been concluded between the two empires. Those who bring provisions will be properly remunerated."

§ 221. *Position and antecedents of Chosiu the Nagato daimio.*—The contumacious daimio who had thus inaugurated hostilities, though not the most wealthy or powerful of his class, nevertheless seems to have had a sort of hereditary right to stand prominently forward in defence of his country. In the foregoing proclamation of Admiral Jaurez he is named Matzdaira Daizen no-Daiboo, but these were his titular appellations, his personal name being Chosiu, Choshiu, or Chosew—the first being adopted in English orthography. At this time he was placed on the official list of daimios as belonging to the family of Mowori Kay, possessed of the feudal barony of Nagato, with an estimated income equivalent to 277,000*l.* sterling. But it was stated that his ancestors at one time possessed ten other feudal territories besides that:—Suwo, Aki, Bingo, Iwami, Idsumo, Bitsyu, Bizen, Hirami, Foki, Juaba—in fact, about three-fourths of that magnificent peninsula that stretches from the ancient imperial city of Kioto to the Strait of Simanosaki, having the Inland Sea on its south-eastern, and the sea of Japan on its north-western, shores. The first Siogoon of the last reigning family deprived his ancestors of their feudal powers over these baronies, excepting Nagato and Suwo, the latter being held by an inferior daimio with about 30,000*l.* a year. Hence the descendants of the spoliated house of Mowari had nursed bitter enmity towards those of their Siogoon

enemy, and opposed their policy of admitting foreigners into the country, while prepared, as we have seen, to resist invasion. Bearing these authentic statements in mind, the reader will better understand why Chosiu—who figures prominently in these annals subsequent to this outbreak of hostilities—and his adherents fought so desperately against foreigners, and how the Siogoon and his Government never once sent any forces to assist him, but rather rejoiced over his defeat at Simanosaki.

§ 222. *Bombardment of Kagosima by the British squadron.*—In pursuance of his instructions from Her Majesty's Government, should diplomacy fail to obtain reparation and redress for the murder of Mr. Richardson, Admiral Kuper was ready to undertake coercive measures on the expiry of the eight days of grace mentioned in his dispatch. It was not until the 6th of August, however, that he was ready to start on his expedition to Kagosima Bay and City, at the extreme south of the Island of Kiusiu, where the rich territory of Satsuma is situated. The squadron consisted of the flag-ship 'Euryalus,' 35 guns; the 'Pearl,' 21; 'Perseus,' 17; 'Argus,' 6; 'Racehorse,' 4; 'Havoc,' 2; and 'Coquette,' 4. Colonel Neale was on board with a portion of his staff in the first, hoping that hostilities might be averted at the eleventh hour by diplomatic negotiations. On the 12th the fleet anchored off the city of Kagosima, which was seen to be formidably fortified with batteries mounting heavy ordnance, and said to contain 180,000 inhabitants, a large number of whom were employed in an arsenal for the manufacture of arms and munitions of war. A boat with two officials came on board to ascertain the purport of the visit, professing they had not heard anything about the expedition, which was evidently a subterfuge. A dispatch was handed to them, in which the British demands were fully set forth, to be delivered to the highest authority in the place. The usual tergiversation and delay took place, so that it was not until the third day an answer was received; the gist of which being, that as the British had no treaty with Satsuma, the squadron must return to Yokohama and settle the affair with the Siogoon's Government. Meanwhile, the Admiral went in the 'Havoc' to reconnoitre, and saw in a snug bay three steamers, which were recognized as the 'England,' 'Sir George Grey,' and 'Contest,' and purchased from foreigners. This answer to Colonel Neale being considered decisive, the Admiral determined to take

possession of these steamers. This was done early on the 15th, when the prizes were anchored alongside three of the ships, and their crews landed on an island without the slightest show of resistance. They appeared to have been only employed as merchant ships; one being loaded with copper coinage, another with silk, and the third with sugar and rice. The Japanese seeing the seizure of the steamers, opened fire from the principal fort upon the flag-ship about mid-day. This was the signal for action; so signals were made to the captains who had the prizes under their charge to burn them, which was speedily and effectually accomplished. Then the bombardment commenced. The weather which had been lowering all the morning, now burst out in one of those terrific typhoons which sweep with devastating violence over these seas. In the midst of deluging rain and fierce wind the engagement continued the whole afternoon. The flag-ship having got her anchor up, went a little way up the bay in order that the squadron might form in line of battle. The first mark to be fired at was the most northern battery of four guns, which was not silenced until the third vessel passed in rotation. By the time the fifth vessel arrived at this point the flag-ship was delivering her broadsides into a battery of twenty-four guns. There was a target at this place, and when she came inside of it, a great many shot and shell well directed struck her, causing heavy loss of life. One ten-inch shell entered a port and burst on the main-deck, killing seven men and wounding about double that number; another tore a great hole in the bulwarks, and one of the boom boats had her bottom knocked out by a round shot. And, melancholy to relate, about three o'clock, as Admiral Kuper, Captain Josling, Commander Wilmot, and the master were standing close together on the bridge, a round shot struck the captain and commander, and they both fell down dead on the deck. The wind which had reached the height of the hurricane, now rendered the '*Euryalus*' unmanageable, and to avoid running on shore she hauled off and returned to the anchorage. This move was followed by the other ships, so that they kept out of range from this formidable fort, or doubtless they would have met with a great deal more damage. The 'Racehorse' did get on shore close to the first battery, and the 'Argus' was sent to tow her off. While she was in this position a heavy shot went clean through her main-

mast, and another struck her at the water-line, but, by an unexampled good fortune, no men were killed or wounded. The 'Coquette' finally went to her assistance, and shelled the batteries until the 'Racehorse' got off. The city of Kagosima was observed to be on fire about three o'clock, and, from the strength of the wind, nearly all the northern part was in a blaze by six. Orders were given to avoid as much as possible injuring what appeared to be dwellings of private persons, and to destroy all public works, especially the arsenal. Accordingly the 'Perseus' blew up the gun foundry and magazine with her rockets; and the 'Havoc' set fire to five large native junks belonging to Satsuma. During the whole of that night it blew a hurricane, but the squadron rode it out without any material accident.

§ 223. *Losses on both sides during the bombardment.*—This was the severest blow inflicted on the recalcitrant daimios, but it cost a sad loss of life. The former was estimated by the Admiral as follows:—"The disabling of many guns, explosion of magazines, and other serious damage to the principal batteries; the destruction of the three steamers, and five junks; the whole of the town of Kagosima, and palace of the Prince, together with the large arsenal and gun factory, and adjacent storehouses; added to which may be noticed the injury to many of the junks in the inner harbour, caused by the explosion of shells which may have passed over the batteries. The conflagration thus created continued with unabated ardour up to the time of the squadron's departure, forty-eight hours subsequently to the attack." As to the loss of life among the Japanese, it must have been very considerable. Next day, on calling over the muster-rolls, it was found that the British loss was 13 killed and 50 wounded, of which the officers and crew of the 'Euryalus' suffered in 10 of the former and 21 of the latter. At three in the afternoon the squadron weighed anchor and proceeded to pass down the bay out of range of the batteries. After a slight brush, the ships were safely anchored in the same place they had occupied on the night of their entrance; and on the morrow took their departure for Yokohama, where they arrived several days afterwards.

§ 224. *The bombardment of Kagosima has the desired effect.*—The cause and effect of this bombardment struck terror into the hearts of the Satsuma, or more properly speaking the

Shimadzoe, family, of whom Saburo was the delinquent. Herein was the assassination of a private British subject avenged by all the warlike power available in Japan. It was a striking example of Lord Palmerston's policy of treating his cause as the ancient Romans did that of their citizens when wronged, and his death was avenged as a vital part of the nation—*Romanus sum.* Moreover, the destruction of so much Japanese life and property, in a stronghold that was deemed invulnerable, showed the weakness of their best defensive and offensive works, against the superior war engines of the foreigner, and the bravery of the men who operated with them. Indeed, it is characteristic of this people, that while the bombardment of Kagosima was condemned by certain parties of the British Parliament and press as a barbarous outrage on humanity, these warlike Asiatics admired the courage of our naval force, and particularly the well-directed shot, shell, and rockets which demolished the city and shipping. What did appear to the Satsuma officials as an act of destruction beyond their notions of warfare, was the burning of the prizes with their valuable cargoes, when there was not an armed native on board to offer resistance. Many British officers and merchants were of the same opinion, as one of the gunboats could have been detailed to take them in charge until the bombardment was over, when they would have been held as a material guarantee for the indemnity and redress demanded for the Richardson murder and outrage.

§ 225. *Amicable adjustment of the British demands on Satsuma.* —There can be no doubt that this exhibition of British power in a just cause, so many thousand miles from the mother country, had the desired effect on the feudal chief of Satsuma and his adherents. In two months or so after the bombardment of Kagosima, a solemn council resolved upon coming to amicable terms with the British *Chargé d'Affaires* at Yokohama. Envoys were sent with full powers to negotiate, and they, in company with some of the Siogoon's functionaries, obtained an interview with Colonel Neale on the 9th of November. The conference commenced by the envoys stating that their daimio master considered that he had been harshly dealt with in the seizure and destruction of his two steamers and foreign barque, without due notice being given by the Admiral of his intention to burn them. In reply, it was pointed

out that the squadron had proceeded to Kagosima for the purpose of negotiating upon the matter in question; that during the long delay that had elapsed before sending any reply, the ships had occasion to shift their anchorage; that the answer, when it came, was of a character which rendered some pledge or hostage necessary to compel satisfactory terms during further negotiations; that with this view and for this purpose the vessels had been taken possession of, and not with any intention of destroying them or taking them away; but that the daimio's retainers had themselves commenced hostilities by firing on the flag-ship, and that, therefore, the destruction of the vessels was a consequence of their own act at the time. After several hours' discussion the envoys left, expressing themselves satisfied with the explanation of the *Chargé d'Affaires*. Other conferences followed in December, at which endeavours were resorted to by the envoys to soften and smooth down the terms originally demanded. These were rejected by Colonel Neale, and as good-humouredly, one by one, abandoned by them. The indemnity money was then brought to the Legation in a hundred thousand dollars, equivalent to twenty-five thousand pounds sterling. While this was being counted, the following document was handed in:—"Yokohama, Dec. 11th, 1863.—The money demanded by the British Government having been paid by the officers of Shimadzoo Awadzi *no-kami*, a branch of the family of Satsuma, we hereby promise as follows:—The persons who last year in the eighth month (14th September, 1862) killed and wounded your countrymen at Namamugi, on the tokaido, have escaped from that place, and, although we have diligently searched for them, their place of abode has not been found out. And as, also, some time has passed, it is not possible to state with certainty whether they are still alive, but will use every diligence in searching for them, and, as soon as arrested, punish them with death in the presence of your country's officers. Sikeno Konosho, Diplomatic Minister of the Daimio Satsuma. Iwasta Sakzimon, acting Minister of Satsuma." This was accepted as the basis of good-will and amity, and thus ended the punishment and redress for the cruel murder of a British subject.

§ 226. *Assassination of a French military officer at Yokohama.* —Nothing further of importance transpired during the remainder of this year, but it was evident that the Government

and peace of Japan was unhinged. The daimios who continued inimical to foreigners still threatened their expulsion from the treaty ports, while their lawless followers lurked in the neighbourhood of the settlements to attack any stray individuals, no matter of what nationality. At Yokohama a French officer of Zouaves—a cousin of Admiral Jaurez—was assassinated on the Yedo side about two miles distant. The Admiral immediately took possession of a commanding site on the adjacent bluffs, hoisted the tricolour flag, and landed marines, guns, and stores from his ships, to hold the place as a material guarantee for reparation and redress, also to protect the settlement in case of an attack. At the yet unopened port of Hiogo and city of Osaka a very disturbed state of affairs existed. Several assassinations were reported, and the victims were said to be merchants of the higher class, who were known to have trading relations with the Yokohama merchants. Notices were posted up to the following effect:—"The Siogoon has secret doings with foreigners. This is with the aid of our bad merchants who deal with them. These merchants go to Yokohama; sell everything, tea, silk, and other produce, therefore these things are dear, and all people are much troubled. If we were not to take care, all would be oppressed. We are charged to punish these merchants. You who may owe money to Yokohama traders do not pay them, and if they complain to the officers at Yedo have no care on that account, but say you will cause them to be cut to pieces. Merchants from all the silk provinces see to this matter. If you disregard this, you, your children, and your relations shall be crushed." There was no official name to this placard, but it was known to emanate from persons in authority.

§ 227. *Threatening state of affairs at Nagasaki and Simonasaki.*—Affairs at Nagasaki were also in a most unsatisfactory state. The residents were again armed to the teeth—most of whom had returned from their flight to China—and prepared to embark at a moment's notice. The Vice-Governor of Nagasaki called upon the British Consul and warned him that large bands of Simanosaki retainers of Chosiu, over whom he had no jurisdiction, were crowding into the suburbs of the town, with evil intent. He therefore recommended foreigners never to go abroad after dark, and, whenever necessity compelled them to leave their homes, to go armed. The consequence of this

communication was a meeting at the British consulate, where it was arranged to take precautions; and at night a guard of seamen from H.M.S. 'Leopard' and 'Rattler' patrolled the settlement heavily armed. This threatening state of affairs was said to originate with the unsubdued daimio of Nagato, who was determined to stop the trade of Nagasaki, and continued to blockade the Strait of Simanosaki. He had detained sixty-seven junks with cargoes bound thither, so that trade was almost at a standstill. The senior naval officer, on learning that the Governor would not be responsible for the acts of these Samourai and ronins, said that if a foreigner was molested he should fire upon them, and if any shells or rockets set fire to the town, he would not be responsible for it. As the year came to a close, matters became more tranquil and business was reviving. This was mainly due to the changed policy of Satsuma and his family, after settling the British demands, being anxious to cultivate friendly relations with foreigners, and extend his trade with the open ports. This was evinced by his agents at Nagasaki buying and selling to a considerable amount in exports and imports belonging to foreign commerce.

§ 228. *Tranquillity and dulness of trade at Hakodadi.*—During these exciting times in the south and west of Japan the northern port of Hakodadi remained dull and tranquil. Throughout the autumn several Russian vessels of war, belonging to the squadron under Admiral Popoff, visited the harbour, but they always sailed under sealed orders, so that their movements were kept secret. Hitherto it was a favourite wintering place for them, but none were seen as winter drew on, though their own ports in Manchooria were closed by ice. The merchant shipping was confined to a few traders in sea-weed and timber for China ports. Even these disappeared by the close of the year, so that business almost ceased, and the residents left were mostly consular officers. These gentlemen enjoyed the privilege of exchanging a dollar for three itziboos, while the trader could only get two, so that there was no encouragement to commerce in this poor settlement.

§ 229. *General review of trade at the treaty ports in* 1863.—In consequence of the unsettled state of political affairs commerce was more fluctuating, but still an increase on that of the previous year. The total amount of exports from Yokohama

was computed at—British, 2,149,291*l.*; other flags, 489,212*l.*: total, 2,638,503*l.*, chiefly silk, cotton, and tea, besides gold 225*l.* This was a large increase, but the imports were not more than 811,146*l.*, of which 635,731*l.* was British, showing a great falling off, especially in iron, tin, and lead, which were almost neglected, and manufactured goods were not much in demand. Prices averaged for raw silk $210, tea $9, and raw cotton $8 per picul (133 lbs.). In the latter produce 47,000 bales were exported against 4616 the preceding year. The number of merchant vessels arrived from all ports and places was 170, against 121 in 1862, of which 100 were under the British flag against 65 in 1862. The other flags were Dutch, American, Prussian, French, and Russian, 70 in number. British steamers sold to Japanese realized 170,000*l.*

CHAPTER XIII.

1864.

RETROGRADE POLICY OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT — BOMBARDMENT AND CAPTURE OF THE NAGATO FORTS, AT SIMANOSAKI, BY THE ALLIED SQUADRONS.

§ 230. Government attempts to close the port of Yokohama. § 231. Their retrograde policy on the departure of the diplomatic mission for Europe. § 232. Native merchants deterred from trading in Yokohama. § 233. Return of Sir Rutherford Alcock with extended diplomatic powers. § 234. The Simanosaki batteries fire on a steamer of the Siogoon. § 235. Satsuma appeals to the Mikado against the outrages of Nagato. § 236. Reinforcements to H.M.'s 20th Regiment at Yokohama. § 237. Expedition to treat with Chosiu, father of the daimio of Nagato. § 238. Strengthening the fortifications at Simanosaki. § 239. Grand rendezvous of the allied sea and land forces at Yokohama. § 240. Sudden recall of the Japanese Embassy from Paris. § 241. Rendezvous of the allied squadrons in the Inland Sea. § 242. Sketch of the Inland Sea and Strait of Simanosaki. § 243. Bombardment and destruction of the fortifications at Simanosaki. § 244. Landing of the allied forces and storming of the forts. § 245. Capture of the Japanese guns as trophies of victory. § 246. Simanosaki Strait opened to the ships of all nations, the batteries on the south shore remaining silent.

§ 230. *Government attempts to close the port of Yokohama.*— Scarcely had the New Year opened, when the Siogoon's Government again raised the question of closing the port of Yokohama to foreign trade. On the 4th of January an interview took place between the British *Chargé d'Affaires*, two Vice-Ministers and three Governors of Foreign Affairs. The conference began by the latter stating that an embassy was about to be sent to Europe for the purpose of inducing the Treaty Powers to withdraw their representatives and subjects from Yokohama so that the port might be closed. They said from the first they considered it to be only an experiment, which had failed, owing to the hostility of the people to foreigners, and consequently to the Government the greatest difficulties were created. Complicated by assaults and deeds of violence, these were only to be met by shutting the port of Yokohama, and leaving open to foreign trade only the two

ports of Nagasaki and Hakodadi. That, having determined on this course, the Government had resolved on sending an embassy to the Treaty Powers, as their representatives in Japan were not empowered to settle this important question. Colonel Neale observed that all nations were entitled to forward embassies whenever they chose to do so; but reminded the Ministers that in the interim it would be his duty, and was certainly his intention, to see to the performance of all the treaty obligations. He also hinted that if they attempted to stop foreign trade, foreigners would stop theirs, by using the forces at their command to prevent the interchange of commodities by native craft from place to place. The conference ended by impressing upon their minds the firm determination of himself and colleagues to maintain their treaty rights with the Government, and chastise to the utmost any contumacious daimios who endeavoured to interfere.

§ 231. *Retrograde policy of Japanese on departure of embassy.* —By this time M. de Bellecourt, the French Minister Plenipotentiary, had returned to his temple-residence at Yedo with the members of the legation and a strong guard of infantry. This was galling to the Japanese Ministers, but they dared not to enforce his departure from the capital. However, they showed their determination to prevent other legations from residing there by requesting the Prussian Envoy, Baron de Rehfues, and some members of his legation, to return to Yokohama. He had come to Yedo for the purpose of obtaining ratification of the treaty entered into the year previous, and was residing with his French colleague. The Gorojio expressed their readiness to do so, but it would take ten days to accomplish, till when it would be advisable for him and his suite to proceed on board the war steamer 'Gazelle,' anchored off the city, and the documents would be sent on board. M. de Bellecourt declined the discourteous task of asking his guest to turn out, so he remained until the treaty ratifications were exchanged, and then took his departure. There was not much in this circumstance, yet combined with the nature of the proposed embassy to Europe it indicated a retrograde policy as being again in the ascendant in the Siogoon's Government, and there were reports of the most reliable character that the Council of Regency were the instigators of the daimios to commence hostilities. At the exchange of ratifications on the 21st of

January, one of the envoys in the new embassy was present. On the 6th of February, he, along with two other ambassadors, and a suite of thirty-four persons, took their departure for Shanghai in the French steamer 'Monge.' From that port they proceeded by the 'Messageries Impériales' Mail line of steamers, and in due course arrived at Marseilles.

§ 232. *Native merchants deterred from trading in Yokohama.*—This retrograde movement was also indicated in a petty way amongst the native traders at Yokohama who were most disposed to be friendly with foreigners. Suddenly some would disappear from their shops in the settlement, and on inquiry their neighbours said one had been threatened by an ominous writing, and another by the visit of a sinister-looking Yakonin. Then in a day or so down comes the flimsy dwelling or shop, and it was found that all the inmates had moved away with their furniture, goods, and chattels to some place where there was more safety to person and property, although less profitable to trade. In this manner two-thirds of the native traders' buildings were pulled down or closed, and dealings were rapidly coming to the point which it was evident the Government desired; namely, to have only two or three Japanese merchants to monopolize it, under official control. Three respectable traders were seized and imprisoned for the *crime*, as it was called, of bringing silk into the settlement for sale, without permission; while all foreign merchandise was prohibited to be sent to Yedo.

§ 233. *Return of Sir Rutherford Alcock with extended diplomatic powers.*—At this juncture Sir Rutherford Alcock, K.C.B., Her Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary in Japan, accompanied by Lady Alcock and suite, arrived by H.M.S. 'Argus' at Yokohama on the 2nd of March. He took up his official residence at Kanagawa, and his *locum tenens*, Lieutenant-Colonel Neale made his departure for England on the 11th. It was understood that he had returned to his post, after receiving the honour of knighthood from his sovereign, with instructions from the Palmerston administration extending his authority, on the basis of the vigorous policy he had hitherto pursued in maintaining the treaty rights of Her Majesty's Government. Shortly after his arrival he was waited upon by some of the Ministers from the Grand Council at Yedo, with whom he formerly had conducted diplomatic relations. It was reported

that they expressed themselves as hailing with great satisfaction the return of a plenipotentiary whom they had always distinguished by the highest marks of confidence and esteem.

§ 234. *The Simanosaki batteries fire on a steamer of the Siogoon.*—A most unaccountable affair happened about this time. It will be remembered that the recalcitrant daimio of Nagato, named Chosiu, had detained native junks passing through Simanosaki Strait, and blockaded the passage to all foreign ships. He, or his myrmidons, had now the audacity to fire on a foreign steamer owned by the Siogoon, and sailing under command of Satsuma's officers. Being in want of repairs, she was sent through the Inland Sea, on her way to Nagasaki arsenal for the purpose of refitting. She anchored in the straits one evening about eight o'clock, when the batteries on the northern shore opened fire upon her. Supposing that the steamer had been mistaken for a foreign-owned ship, the captain ordered signal lanterns to be hoisted at the mastheads, according to an agreement entered into among the daimios, to provide against such a misunderstanding. But the firing continued, and as there was no attention paid to the signals when repeated, the anchor was weighed, and the vessel steered for a harbour not far off, on the coast of Kokura. But the effects of the shot and shell had set fire to the steamer, and she was consumed before reaching the port. Of the ship's company, nine officers and nineteen of the crew, including the engineers, lost their lives, and their bodies were never found. This is the substance of a report of the wanton attack sent to the Gorogio by Satsuma.

§ 235. *Satsuma appeals against the outrages of Nagato.*—When Chosiu was accused of this outrage he pleaded ignorance of the matter himself, and defended his subordinates by saying that those on board the steamer were to blame for neglecting to hoist the preconcerted signals in time. This, however, was a mere evasion, for the Japanese war pennant floated at the main, and the batteries continued firing after the signals were shown. The fact is, he took the steamer to be one of Satsuma's, with whom he was at enmity for becoming friendly, and allowing his people to trade with foreigners. This was exemplified not long afterwards, when one of that daimio's own steamers was fired upon and boarded, and several of the officers and crew were killed. This second outrage raised the ire of the Shimadzoo

family and their adherents, against that of Mowori and his clan, so that a deadly feudal enmity sprung up between Satsuma and Nagato. The former appealed to the Mikádo's Court at Kioto and the Siogoon's Government at Yedo for redress. He reported to them that "O Mowori" (the Great Mowori)—as the Japanese styled this daimio—was ruling in his and his family's territories of Nagato and Suwo, like an independent prince, regardless of the national laws or the authority of his sovereign. These representations led, it was rumoured, to the appointment of the daimio of Higo, Hossokawa family; and Tosa of the Yamano-ootchi family, to control and punish Chosiu. But he defied them all, considering himself secure in his fastnesses by land and sea. Had he kept to this hostile attitude only against the divided armies and armaments of the State and his colleagues the feudal barons, there is no saying how long he might have resisted them. But he chose to war against foreigners backed by strong naval and military forces, and he had to succumb to their strength and prowess.

§ 236. *Reinforcements to H.M.'s 20th Regiment at Yokohama.*—Hitherto all the operations of the British and foreign Treaty Powers against the Japanese were confined to the naval forces, excepting a few companies of French *chasseurs*, who were encamped at Yokohama Bluff. It will be remembered that Sir Rutherford Alcock, when the aspect of affairs looked so portentous in 1862, urged on Brigadier-General Brown to send a thousand troops to Japan. That was not complied with, possibly because he had no instructions to send such large reinforcements out of China where they were so much required. Armed with higher *plenipotentiary* powers than on his first mission, His Excellency's request for military reinforcements at this important juncture were at once acceded to by General Brown. At that time the 20th Infantry Regiment were quartered at Hong Kong, and it was arranged that the whole battalion should be removed to Yokohama. Accordingly the steam transport 'Conqueror,' with the troops on board, was welcomed by every foreigner on the 28th of May, as she steamed up Yedo Bay. They were under command of Colonel Suther, twenty-two officers, and comprised 560 non-commissioned officers and privates. Temporary barracks were erected on a plateau to the eastward of the settlement, in an airy, healthy, and commanding situation. As the British red-coats landed

the hearts of every foreign resident throbbed with satisfaction at such a force, come for their protection and maintenance of treaty rights. The debarkation took place in excellent order; the men were drawn up on the marine parade, and then they marched to their quarters to the music of their band, the plaudits of the residents, and the consternation of the Japanese, who beheld their bayonets from their deadly rifles glittering in the sun, which struck a wholesome terror into their hearts.

§ 237. *Expedition to treat with Chosiu, father of the daimio of Nagato.*—Further reinforcements of marines and light infantry from China arrived shortly afterwards, until they numbered upwards of eight hundred and fifty rank and file. The Brigadier-General came and took command of the whole British land forces. At this time there arrived from England two Japanese students, who had been sent abroad by the daimio Chosiu to study civil engineering and mechanics, along with three other young men. Learning the hostile attitude assumed by their feudal master, in braving the power of Great Britain and the other Treaty Powers, they were so impressed with the futility of his doing so, from what they saw in the arsenals and dockyards of Europe, that they resolved to draw lots, so that two of their number should return to Japan and personally acquaint him with the details of their experience. This coming to the knowledge of Sir Rutherford Alcock, he and his colleagues, together with General Brown, deemed it an opportune occasion to treat with the refractory daimio of Nagato, through them, to desist from blockading Simanosaki Strait, before resorting to coercive measures, as in the case of Satsuma. Accordingly, H.M.SS. 'Barossa' and 'Cormorant' were placed at the disposal of the Minister by Admiral Kuper, to reconnoitre the enemy's position, and land the two friendly Japanese at a convenient place to reach their master. On the 27th of July the expedition arrived off Hima Sima, about thirty miles distant from Hangi, the stronghold of Chosiu, where he was then residing. The two students were landed here, after having disguised themselves as native doctors, who could travel in these troublous times more safely than any other class of persons, from being attacked or robbed by the lawless ronins who infested the country.

§ 238. *Strengthening the fortifications at Simanosaki.*—While awaiting the return of these voluntary envoys, the men-of-war

proceeded to survey and reconnoitre the fortifications of this daring patriotic daimio. On the 1st of August the 'Cormorant' steamed down towards the inner entrance to Simanosaki Strait. As she approached, her officers easily discerned that a number of new forts or batteries were erected on both the north and south shores of the channel, and in commanding positions. The 'Barossa' anchored in mid-channel off Himi Sima, and the narrow entrance to the Inland Sea, and took soundings without any particular circumstance occurring, or their being observed. However, on the 7th a second trip was made to the fortified shores, when it was seen that in the week's interval they were further strengthened by additional guns of larger calibre. Some of these fired shot and shell across the strait as the 'Cormorant' steamed inshore. A party landed at an unfortified part of the coast, and had a parley with some of the inhabitants through an interpreter. They assumed an unusually uncivil demeanour, saying that they wished the ships would go away, as they were not at all wanted. They also said that Chosiu had an army of forty-two thousand men, more than half of whom were well-armed regular retainer-soldiery, and the remainder an irregular force of desperate two-sworded ronins. That same day the two Japanese returned with an evasive answer from Chosiu, saying that he intended to raise the blockade of the strait in a short time. It was evident that this was a mere *ruse-de-guerre*, to gain time to render the fortifications in his estimation invulnerable. They were very reticent, and speedily returned to the Isle of Hima, and the vessels lost no time in returning to Yokohama, reporting the unsatisfactory result of the expedition to the British Admiral.

§ 239. *Grand rendezvous of sea and land forces at Yokohama.* —When the diplomatic, naval, and military representatives received the report of the reconnoitring expedition, a council of war was held, and it was resolved to take action against this daimio and his formidable offensive works, with all the available sea and land forces at the command of the several Treaty Powers. The British contingent of the latter had a further accession from Shanghai, consisting of 167 rank and file of the 67th Regiment, a battery of artillery, and six men of the Royal Engineer Corps, increasing the force to about 1200 men of all arms. Besides this a naval brigade was formed of the marines

and blue-jackets from the British squadron, for operations on shore, consisting of two battalions, each 400 strong, and a battery of field-pieces. This brigade was reviewed by General Brown in the presence of Sir Rutherford Alcock, Admiral Kuper, and other officers, when they went through their evolutions in admirable style. On landing they formed line, flanked by the batteries, fired a number of rounds, formed squares, prepared to resist cavalry, dismounted the batteries, taking the wheels and gear of the guns inside the squares, fired a number of volleys of musketry, remounted the guns, formed column of companies, marched off the ground through the settlement, and then re-embarked. The men-of-war in harbour were the following:—British: 'Euryalus,' 'Tartar,' 'Argus,' 'Kestrel,' 'Bouncer,' 'Coromandel,' 'Havoc,' 'Scylla,' 'Pelorus,' 'Coquette,' 'Conqueror,' 'Racehorse,' 'Leopard,' 'Hesper,' 'Barossa,' and 'Cormorant;' French: 'Semiramis,' 'Dupleix,' and 'Tancrède;' Dutch: 'Medusa,' 'Djambi,' 'Metalen Kruis,' and 'Amsterdam;' American: the 'Jamestown.' Such an assemblage of sea and land forces—mustering about 8000 men of all arms—was never seen before in Japan.

§ 240. *Sudden recall of the Japanese Embassy from Paris.*—The combined expedition was already formed and ready to start for Simanosaki, when the Peninsular and Oriental mail steamer 'Ganges' arrived in harbour, with—to the surprise of every one—the members of the Japanese embassy to Europe. It transpired that they had reached Paris where they were received in state by the Emperor Napoleon III.; and, at an interview with his Minister, having the Foreign Portfolio, a convention was entered into that the strait would be opened in three months after their return. Immediately afterwards, they received letters of recall from the Siogoon's Government, which were peremptory, and they made a hurried departure. On receipt of this intelligence the respective admirals were communicated with, and all orders previously issued for going to sea countermanded. The 'Cormorant' was dispatched to Shanghai, to meet, if possible, the 'Perseus,' and stop the coal ships. The latter were stopped, but the former was at sea. However, the whole tide of affairs turned on the Embassy reporting what they had done in France to the Gorojio. They repudiated the acts of the ambassadors to the French minister, and said, in consequence of their having exceeded their instruc-

tions they must perform self-destruction by *hari-kari*. On this M. Leon de Roches—who had succeeded M. de Bellecourt—interfered, and said if such were carried out, it would be considered as a declaration of war. The British, French, Dutch, and American ministers immediately repaired to Yedo, having agreed upon a programme so as to bring matters to a speedy issue. It was strongly suspected that the Siogoon's Government were covertly acting in complicity with Chosiu, to resist to the uttermost the opening of Simanosaki Strait to free navigation. To a certain extent this view of their secret policy was supported by their refusal to ratify the convention of the ambassadors entered into at Paris.

§ 241. *Rendezvous of the allied fleet in the Inland Sea.*—No other alternative was now left for the allies to pursue but to carry out promptly the plan of coercive operations mentioned before the arrival of the recalled embassy. Accordingly the troops for the expedition were embarked, and the first squadron of the allied fleet sailed on the morning of the 28th August, consisting of the 'Coquette,' 'Duplcix,' 'Tancrède,' 'Medusa,' 'Metalen Kruis,' 'Djambi,' and 'Amsterdam.' Next morning Admiral Kuper left with the 'Euryalus,' 'Barossa,' 'Tartar,' 'Leopard,' 'Argus,' 'Conqueror,' 'Bouncer,' and Admiral Jaurez in the 'Semiramis.' To these was added the merchant steamer 'Ta-kiang,' flying the United States flag, with a detachment of marines on board, and a swivel-gun. The 'Perseus' joined the British Admiral's flag-ship at the entrance to Boungo Channel, with a large collier in tow from Shanghai. The place of rendezvous was the anchorage off Hima Sima, where they were all assembled on the 4th of September, consisting of sixteen men-of-war with upwards of two hundred guns, three thousand blue-jackets, and two thousand troops. At nine in the morning of that day the fleet left the anchorage and steered for the inner entrance to the Strait of Simanosaki.

§ 242. *Sketch of the Inland Sea and Strait of Simanosaki.*—As the scene of these warlike operations possesses the greatest interest and importance of any locality in the Japanese Islands, a more precise geographical sketch than what has been given will enable the reader to understand better the brilliant and successful engagement these annals now enter upon. Properly speaking the name "Inland Sea" is not correct according to geographical nomenclature, for it is simply a great channel

between the three islands of Nip-pon, Kiu-siu, and Si-kok, which form the chief provinces of Japan; and may be compared to St. George's Channel formed by the islands of Great Britain and Ireland: only it is more tortuous and thickly studded with rocky islands, like the great sea-lochs of Scotland. From east to west it is about two hundred and forty miles in length, and varies from twenty to sixty miles in width. There are three entrances to it: one by the Kino Channel from the north-east; one by the Boungo Channel from the south-east—both of which are as wide as the main channel; but the third entrance through the Strait of Simanosaki to the south-west is at its narrowest part only a quarter of a mile broad. The scenery on the shores of this disputed ocean-highway is varied and picturesque, with luxuriant vegetation clothing the hills down to the water's edge. Here the tides ebb and flow with great velocity, as they rush through the narrow passage. From its position this strait saved a great many miles of navigation to vessels bound from Yokohama to Nagasaki and China, besides the expected opening of Hiogo and Osaka, which would increase the traffic through its land-locked waters. Consequently it was of vital importance to foreign as well as native commerce that this gate to the great marts should be kept open and free.

§ 243. *Bombardment and destruction of the fortifications at Simanosaki.*—On the 5th of August the engagement commenced at 2 P.M. by the 'Euryalus' firing one of her bow-guns, which was smartly returned and kept up with much spirit by the Japanese batteries. While the large ships lay at anchor, those of lighter draught kept under steam and engaged the enemy. The advance squadron, consisting of six corvettes, moved into the bay off the village of Tamoura, within easy range of the principal forts, while the frigates opened fire upon the same works. The light squadron, consisting of five smaller vessels, were directed to take the batteries in the flank, while the 'Conqueror,' with the troops on board, was, in consequence of the difficult navigation, directed to approach only sufficiently near to admit of her Armstrong guns bearing on the nearest batteries. For three hours and a half the bombardment was kept up with a continuous discharge of shot and shell, which was so smartly responded to by the Japanese gunners that it elicited the praise of all on board the fleet; the Admirals remarking that it would have been creditable

to European artillery. Nevertheless, the fire gradually slackened under the heavy pounding of the ships' great guns, and by half-past five the five batteries which had been engaged were silenced. The day was now too far advanced to admit of the landing-parties being disembarked; but the 'Perseus' and Dutch corvette 'Medusa' being very close to one battery and too dark for their commanders to signal for instructions, they gallantly landed with two parties of men, spiked most of the guns in the battery, and returned to their ships without casualties of any sort. In like manner, though one or two of the ships grounded, they were floated again without injury, while the enemy's fire did them little or no damage, and no lives were lost; but the Japanese must have suffered severely.

§ 244. *Landing of the allied forces and storming of the forts.* —During the night the plucky Japanese must have worked at their forts to repair what damage they could and mount fresh guns from their arsenals with supplies of war munition; for, just as daylight revealed the position of the fleet, one of the batteries which had been silenced opened a galling fire upon the advanced squadron, doing some damage to the 'Tartar' and 'Dupleix,' besides killing two men and wounding several others. However, on the corvettes returning the fire the fort was soon silenced, and only an occasional straggling shot was discharged from it afterwards. The arrangements being completed for the disembarkation of the landing-parties, they were composed as follows:—British marine light infantry, 1200, under Colonel Suther; and naval brigade, 800, under Captain Alexander, R.N., of the 'Euryalus;' French detachments of marines and seamen, 350; Dutch detachments of marines and seamen, 200; and American detachment of marines, 50. The landing of these contingents was effected without accident, and Admiral Kuper led the van with his force to assault and take possession of the principal batteries. The naval brigade having formed on the beach, nimbly ascended the heights, forming a succession of small rocky terraces, to capture a one-gun battery at the summit. This was found deserted, the gun gone, but the carriage left, which they demolished. In crossing this battery the brigade became exposed to the fire of the enemy's riflemen, concealed in the thickets on the opposite side of a ravine, wounding three men. Meanwhile the main body of infantry marched along the line of lower

batteries, dismounted the guns, burnt the carriages, and blew up the magazines. On returning from this duty, and after the French and Dutch portion had re-embarked, the enemy opened fire upon the British, from a three-gun stockaded barrack building, difficult for troops to approach. However, the two battalions of Royal Marines, being reinforced by the Naval Brigade, the place was stormed on its east and west approaches, and after a sharp resistance the enemy fled from his position. Having spiked the guns and set fire to the building, the brigade retreated to the place of embarkation and returned on board, as Admiral Kuper deemed it inexpedient, from the very rugged and impenetrable nature of the country, to retain possession of any post during the night. This successful attack, however, was not accomplished without loss. Of the naval brigade 7 were killed, and 26 wounded, among the latter Captain Alexander, who was disabled in the foot while bravely leading on his men. Of the Royal Marines 1 was killed, and 12 wounded, three of the latter officers. French, 2 killed, and 9 wounded. Dutch, 2 killed, and 3 wounded. Total, 12 killed, and 60 wounded. The few Americans suffered no losses.

§ 245. *Capture of the Japanese guns as trophies of victory.*—The eight batteries being now in possession of the allies, large working parties were landed on the morning of the 7th, and commenced embarking the guns captured on the previous days. There were yet two more batteries intact, on a commanding point to the westward of the others, that must be reduced. Accordingly, four corvettes moved round to Mozi Saki, preparatory to attacking them next morning, the squadron anchoring in a safe position during the night. These were under the command of Captain Hayes, of H.M.S. 'Tartar,' which took up a position within 3000 yards of the forts, and shelled them so vigorously that the Japanese abandoned them without firing a gun. "Probably," he remarks in his dispatch, "in consequence of a barrack taking fire in the rear, near a magazine containing a large amount of powder, and upwards of seven or eight hundred shell, which soon after exploded. Also, from feeling the impossibility of coping with our guns of such superior power, and the moral effect produced by the fleet on the two previous days." On this occasion Admiral Kuper shifted his flag to the 'Coquette,' and proceeded with the four ships, accompanied by Admiral Jaurez. Seeing the

fire was not returned, parties were shortly after landed to destroy the batteries and embark the guns. This was a work of much labour and difficulty, and though efficiently performed under direction of Captain Dowell, of the 'Barossa,' the guns were not all put on board the fleet as trophies of victory until the 10th. It is stated that while the working party from two Dutch corvettes were loading their boats, a large number of unarmed men came to their assistance, some one saying, "You must feel very tired after your work this day, allow us to assist you in embarking the guns." This they were allowed to do, and wished them good-bye when the boats put off. Some of the guns were very heavy, weighing several tons. In all there were sixty-two pieces of ordnance put on board the ships of European nationalities, in proportion to the force each employed during the engagements afloat and ashore. They were mostly brass pieces, about the calibre of 32-pounders, and manufactured at the Simanosaki arsenal, showing excellent work and metal.

§ 246. *Simanosaki Strait opened to ships of all nations, the batteries on the south shore remaining silent.*—Admiral Kuper in his dispatch to the Admiralty stated, "Since the conclusion of these operations I have satisfied myself, by personal examination of the entire Straits, that no batteries are in existence on the territory of the Prince of Chosiu, and thus the passage of the Straits may be cleared of all obstructions." They have remained so to the present day. He concludes by saying, "A personal inspection of the Straits has convinced me of the inexpediency, with the means at present available, of holding any position on an island or on any portion of the mainland in the vicinity of the Straits. I do not, therefore, purpose carrying into effect that portion of the programme of the diplomatic representatives." It may be added, that during these operations on the northern shores of the Strait, the batteries on the south shore remained silent all the time. These belonged to the daimio of Buzen, of the Ongasawarra family, who were said to have an old feud with the Mowori clan. Be that as it may, an eye-witness of the bombardment reported that enormous crowds of people were spectators of the engagements on the opposite shore, who appeared to enjoy the operations immensely, laughing and shouting as the shells burst in the batteries, and when the flags of the victors were planted on them, they were in perfect raptures.

CHAPTER XIV.

1864 (CONTINUED).

CHOSIU OF NAGATO SUCCUMBS, AND GOVERNMENT TO PAY AN INDEMNITY — NAGATO TROOPS ATTACK THE MIKADO'S PALACE AT KIOTO — PROGRESS OF OPEN PORTS.

§ 247. Chosiu, humbled, sues for peace on unconditional terms. § 248. He agrees that the Strait be open to ships of all nations. § 249. Proposed indemnity convention by Treaty Plenipotentiaries. § 250. Chosiu's soldiery in armour attack the Mikado's palace at Kioto. § 251. Destructive conflagration during the fight at Kioto. § 252. Demolition of Chosiu's palace and barracks at Yedo. § 253. Chosiu defeated, but not subdued; a courageous patriot still. § 254. Review of British and Japanese troops at Yokohama. § 255. Elements and strength of the imperial army and feudal contingents. § 256. Assassination of Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird at Kamakura. § 257. Execution of one assassin and two accomplices at Yokohama. § 258. Sir Rutherford Alcock takes his departure from Japan. § 259. Statistical returns of commerce and Yokohama in 1864. § 260. Unsettled state of trade at the port of Nagasaki. § 261. Hakodadi free from turbulence, and trade improving.

§ 247. *Chosiu, humbled, sues for peace on unconditional terms.* —While the demolition of the batteries and the embarkation of the guns were in progress, an envoy of Chosiu came on board Admiral Kuper's flag-ship under a flag of truce, charged, as he informed the Admiral, with instructions from that daimio to negotiate for a termination of hostilities. He was at once recognized as one of the two friendly students returned from Europe, who were taken in the preliminary trip of the 'Barossa' and 'Cormorant.' Before entertaining his proposals, the Admiral required to see by what authority he came to negotiate. Thereupon he produced documents, said to have been written by command of his feudal master, empowering him to treat with the allies, and stating that no opposition would henceforth be offered to the free passage of the Straits. The envoy also exhibited copies of letters from Kioto and Yedo, substantiating the statement made by Chosiu and his adherents, that in the various acts of hostility towards foreign flags by them recently

carried into effect, they had acted under the authority of the Mikado and Siogoon; at least under instructions from their Ministers, for both were minors at this time. "Having conferred with Rear-Admiral Jaurez," writes Admiral Kuper in his dispatches, "who was present at the interview, it was determined that, to convince us of the sincerity of the Prince's desire for peace, it was indispensable that we should receive a written requisition under his own hand to that effect. The envoy having observed that an interval of two days would be required to obtain the desired communication, a suspension of hostilities for that time was agreed upon, and the squadrons were immediately directed to hoist flags of truce. It was, however, stipulated that the armistice should not interfere with the work of embarking the guns from the batteries then in progress, and it was accordingly proceeded with and completed, as previously described." In the interim, awaiting the return of the envoy, the vessels proceeded to be replenished with wood, water, and provisions, the authorities sending plenty of fowls and other good things as presents to the officers.

§ 248. *Chosiu agrees that the Strait be open to ships of all nations.*—Noon of the 10th September was the time appointed for the renewal of negotiations. Punctual to the hour, the envoy came on board the 'Euryalus,' accompanied by the chief councillor of Chosiu, named Mori Idzumo. They placed before Admiral Kuper a dispatch signed by the daimio himself; identical dispatches being brought also for the senior officers of the allied squadrons. The following is a translation of these documents:—"1. Henceforward all ships of all countries passing through the Strait of Simanosaki shall be treated in a friendly manner. Ships shall be allowed to purchase coal, provisions, wood, and water, and every other necessary. As the harbour of Simanosaki is subject to violent winds and currents, people shall be allowed to land without opposition. 2. Not only shall new forts not be built, but no repairs shall be made to the old ones, nor shall guns be mounted therein. 3. Although the town of Simanosaki might justly have been burnt for having first fired upon the foreign ships, it was left undestroyed. A ransom shall be paid for this; and in addition to this, the whole expenses of the expedition shall be defrayed (by the daimio). I agree to abide by the decision

of the Foreign Ministers at Yedo with regard to these two points. This agreement being merely for the cessation of hostilities upon the occasion, it has nothing to do with questions affecting Chosiu which have to be settled by the Japanese Government and the Ministers of Foreign Powers. (Signed) Shishido Bizen (Councillor); Mori Idzumo (Councillor); Matsdaira Daizen No-Daiboo (Daimio of Nagato); Yoshichika (Secretary)." The very satisfactory character of these terms, and the humble tone of other written communications, convinced the two Admirals that Chosiu *was* sufficiently chastised, and the agreement should be accepted and signed, which was done accordingly. The principal ships of the fleet then prepared to return to Yokohama; but Admiral Kuper deemed it prudent to maintain armed possession of the Strait until the relations between the Siogoon's Government and the Treaty Powers, with regard to this part of the Nagato territory, be arranged on a satisfactory footing. So on his departure he left a British, a French, and a Dutch man-of-war in harbour, with instructions to see that no new batteries be erected, or fresh guns mounted in the old forts, as stipulated in the agreement.

§ 249. *Proposed indemnity convention by Treaty Plenipotentiaries.*—With regard to the 3rd proviso of this agreement referring the amount of indemnity to be settled between the Government at Yedo and the Foreign Ministers, a convention was entered into consisting of four Articles. The first fixed the sum at three millions of dollars, and the second that it should be payable in quarterly instalments of one-sixth that amount. Article III. stated that as it was no object of the Treaty Powers to mulct Japan in pecuniary indemnities, but to establish better relations, they would be satisfied with the opening of some new port in the Inland Sea in lieu thereof. This convention was signed by the British, French, Dutch, and American plenipotentiaries, and a Minister of the Government, but it was not ratified nor any indemnity paid. Instead of this it will be seen, as these annals proceed, that the treaty ports of Hiogo, Osaka, and Nee-e-gata were opened sooner than the deferred five years as an equivalent for all demands.

§ 250. *Chosiu's soldiery in armour attack the Mikado's palace at Kioto.*—In the mean time serious events had occurred in the interior of the great Island of Nip-pon, especially at Kioto, where

the Mikado, the legitimate sovereign of Japan, held his Court. From the accounts of these disturbances it would appear that Chosiu, instead of being the subservient officer of that personage, was then actually in open rebellion against him. As no foreigner at that time was allowed within the precincts of the Imperial Metropolis (Miaw), the reports of this daring outbreak by the soldiery of Nagato came only through native channels, but there was no reason to dispute their accuracy. About the middle of August, upwards of five thousand of these retainers, mostly equipped in chain armour, suddenly appeared before this grand old city, and encamped on the plain near its western precincts, with a battery of bronze field-pieces, many of the men armed with foreign rifles and revolvers. Before daybreak, on the 20th, they marched into the city towards the Mikado's palace, with the intention of seizing the person of their hereditary monarch for political designs. The place, however, was strongly guarded by imperial troops, who also had a park of artillery, and were on the *qui vive*. They rushed to their posts and made preparations to defend the gates. The commander of the forces in Kioto, a noble named *Aisoo* no-kami, headed the troops and made a gallant resistance. There were also a considerable force of the Siogoon's troops from Yedo, under the command of *Yodo* no-kami, who represented his master at the Mikado's Court. His troops guarded one wing of the palace, and were the first to be attacked by Chosiu's men. As daylight revealed their position and strength a desperate encounter ensued; ordnance and musketry were fired on both sides, and many were killed and wounded. Aisoo's force then came into action, and succeeded in beating off the assailants with great slaughter.

§ 251. *Destructive conflagration during the fight at Kioto.*— While the fight was raging with fury, a body of Chosiu's men who were non-combatants set fire to the residences of two of the Mikado's great officers, named Takatsu-kasa and Ku-sio, which communicated to the streets on the west side of the palace, causing the inhabitants to fly from their burning dwellings into the open country. Another band of incendiaries then set fire to the streets on the east side from the Jebisu-gawa, To-sai, Kara-soo-maroo, to Tya-matsi, from which the inmates fled for their lives. In another quarter were three large *yashikis* or barrack residences of Chosiu, which were set on fire by their

opponents, so that in a short time a widespread conflagration raged, its lurid flames lighting up the ranks of the combatants with a picturesque but deadly glare. Next day it was further extended by the burning of three great temples named Kiomisa, Kodaisi, and Awada-Sisigatani, from the effect of shot and shell, in order to render them untenable by a body of the imperial troops stationed there to guard the approach to the castle of Nigio, where the Mikado was residing. As it was unsafe to be there His Majesty was obliged to fly with a strong bodyguard to the Temple of Hiyesan, about fifteen miles from Kioto. For three days the conflagration raged, and nearly one-half of the city was in ashes; but the assailants were repulsed and defeated, leaving behind a third of their number killed and wounded.

§ 252. *Demolition of Chosiu's palace and barracks at Yedo.*—This daring attack on the imperial palace at Kioto was the cause of the Siogoon's Government and the daimios friendly to their policy threatening to take the punishment of Chosiu into their own hands. At that time the foreign envoys and admirals did not put faith in their intentions, but it was ascertained afterwards they were perfectly sincere. A proclamation was issued in the Siogoon's name calling upon twenty-one daimios to assist in punishing this rebellious noble. However, no action was taken in consequence of the success attending the bombardment of the Simanosaki fortifications and capture of his guns. Nevertheless, the Government were determined to punish him in some way, though they could not reach him in his stronghold at Hangi Castle. In Yedo he had one of the most extensive barrack residences erected to quarter 10,000 armed retainers, which they resolved to destroy. A foreigner witnessed the event, and stated that it was destroyed by the fire-brigade of the city, whose duties were reversed upon the occasion. The fire-bells were rung, and a large body of firemen assembled from all quarters of the city to "Com-mi Yashiki." They were led on to the work by the Siogoon's military Yakonins, who directed the plan of demolition. First the buildings were gutted of their contents, and the inmates in charge driven away. Then some of the warlike furnishings were thrown into the moat surrounding the place, and some pitched into the street for the benefit of those who chose to take them. At last the daimio's residence itself was razed to

the ground, and the long ranges of barrack-dwellings turned into heaps of ruins. Some idea of their extent may be formed from the fact that it took several thousand men three days to complete the work of demolition. On each successive day the fire-bells were rung to collect as large a number of people as possible, and they laboured with infinite zeal.

§ 253. *Chosiu defeated, but not subdued; still a courageous patriot.*—Thus was the great feudal baron of Nagato thoroughly punished by his own Government, as well as the representatives of Treaty Powers, for his recalcitrant policy. He who at the beginning of the year lived in the plenitude of his power, with an army of some fifty thousand men at his almost despotic command, was at its close severely punished, subdued, and compelled to accept the "outer barbarians'" terms with a humility which he would have previously spurned with contempt. Yet one cannot help admiring his courage and patriotism, and the devotion of his adherents and retainers, who shed their blood in his cause. They had cherished the idea that, after secretly for years amassing armaments after the model of the foreign invaders, they would be able to cope with them. Not only had they constructed what they deemed invulnerable defensive works, but they considered themselves strong enough to take aggressive action, and relied upon their natural fastnesses and forts as safe from successful attack. We have seen how comparatively easy were the capture and destruction of these by the superior armaments of the allies. This was the last collision of any note between the native and foreign forces, and it was a death-blow to feudalism in Japan.

§ 254. *Review of British and Japanese troops at Yokohama.*—While taking such strong coercive measures to punish and subdue this contumacious daimio, it was no part of the foreign representatives' policy to act in a similar manner with the Siogoon and his Government, if they showed a desire to negotiate amicably. Instead of the native and foreign troops coming into collision on the return of the latter to Yokohama, the remarkable spectacle was exhibited of their being brigaded together and reviewed on the parade-ground in presence of the British and Japanese Ministers. This occurred on the 19th and 20th of October. On the latter day there were twelve hundred and thirty English troops of all arms, including one hundred and thirty Beloochees of Indian forces, a battery of Royal Artil-

lerymen and Military Train, under command of Colonel Penroes; and about two thousand Japanese infantry and cavalry, under Kubota Sentaro, the General in command of the native force round Kanagawa. It was a novel and interesting sight to see these men-at-arms in chain-armour mostly, some with horses caparisoned in armour, in friendly rivalry with men in British uniforms, who gallantly cheered the Japanese as they marched off the review ground.

§ 255. *Elements and strength of the Japanese army.*—It may be added that at this time the Imperial army, under command of the Siogoon as generalissimo, consisted nominally of a hundred thousand infantry, and twenty thousand cavalry, four-fifths of them armed with their ancient weapons, including bows and arrows. This army was to undergo, however, a complete re-organization, and henceforth comprise an effective force of eighty thousand men of all arms, infantry, cavalry, artillery, and engineers, to be armed, equipped, and drilled after the European system, especially that of the French. As to the contingents the daimios were bound to place under the command of the Siogoon, these numbered on paper about three hundred and seventy thousand infantry, and twenty thousand cavalry. But they were never always available to combine as a federal army, for malcontent daimios refused to leave their feudal territories. Had such been done the generalissimo could have brought into the field half a million of men, the greater number trained to arms from their youth.

§ 256. *Assassination of Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird at Kamakura.*—Notwithstanding this apparent fraternization of the Japanese and British troops, the feeling of deadly hatred still existed among the disbanded soldiery against all foreigners. Bands of these marauders pounced upon the peaceful inhabitants, threatening them with death if they did not aid them with food and money to take their revenge on any stragglers from the settlement. Within a few miles of Yokohama lies the picturesque village of Kamakura, and in its vicinity a colossal bronze image of Buddha—a magnificent specimen of Japanese art sixty feet in height. This place is a favourite resort of foreigners, and every stranger is told to go and visit the spot, where there are some refreshment houses. On the 20th of November, two sinister-looking Samourai presented themselves at one of the latter, and imperiously demanded food,

which was given to them, but not paid for. These men lurked in the neighbourhood during the night, and next day made their appearance near the entrance to Kamakura temple. About noon they espied two foreign military officers coming up the road on horseback, and quickly made the way to the rear of their victims, when the assassins rushed upon them unawares and cut them down, mutilating the bodies with their sharp swords after they had fallen. The harmless villagers were afraid to interfere, and the murderers made their escape. Intelligence of the assassination was sent to Yokohama, which was communicated to one of the consuls, who at once proceeded with a colleague and escort to the spot. On arrival there the bodies of the two victims were found in a shed covered with mats, and their ponies tied up at a stand for horses. They were recognized to be the corpses of Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird, of the 20th Regiment of Royal Marine Light Infantry. Both were armed with revolvers, one still in the belt, and the other drawn with one barrel discharged. We refrain from entering further into the harrowing details of this fresh addition to the list of sanguinary outrages on foreigners. Suffice it to say that after the inquest the remains were interred with all military and civilian honours.

§ 257. *Execution of one assassin and two accomplices at Yokohama.*—Of course Sir Rutherford Alcock was determined that the assassins in this case should be delivered up and punished with death; for no indemnity would wipe out the stains of these officers' blood. It is satisfactory to state also that the Government were in earnest to effect the capture of the assassins and their accomplices. Two of the latter were found, seized, and decapitated on the 16th of December, in the presence of Dr. Wills and one of the interpreters of Her Majesty's legation. Eleven days afterwards one of the assassins was brought into the settlement to suffer for this heinous crime. This man was named Shimadzoo Seiji, said to be the leader of a band of lonins, and was captured by means of information derived from one of his accomplices previously executed, and he had made a full confession of his crime. On the afternoon of the 27th, the prisoner was brought into Yokohama tightly bound, and seated on a pack-horse. Before him a number of soldiers led the way, one of them carrying the Siogoon's banner, and another a board with the crime of which he was accused, and his punishment

written on it. The rear was brought up by eight mounted Yakonins and some more foot soldiers. He was immured for the night, and next day preparations were made for the examination of the witnesses who testified to having seen him attack Lieutenant Bird. On being interrogated, he replied with a defiant air, "Yes, I killed one of the foreigner officers at Kamakura." He was apparently a man of the Yakonin class, about twenty-eight years of age, with a sinister and resolute physiognomy, of large frame, but small hands, evidently unused to hard labour. He was again asked by Ernest Satow, the interpreter, "Are you one of the men who killed the foreign officers at Kamakura?" He again answered, "Without doubt I am one of the men who killed the foreigners at Kamakura; but I have something to say about the manner in which I have been examined." At this the Japanese officers ordered him to be silent, and he was forthwith removed to the native execution ground. Here two battalions of the 20th Regiment, and half a battery of artillery, were drawn up. Standing over the pit that was to receive his head, he was regaled with saki and sweetmeats, which he seemed to relish, and sang a kind of extempore song, the burden of which was, "I do not regret dying thus, as to kill foreigners is the desire of a patriot Japanese," each repetition being followed by a growling refrain and a savage scowl. It took three blows to sever his head from his body, when a gun was fired by the artillery to announce that justice was done. Then the troops marched back, past where the bleeding head was exposed near a guard-house leading to the settlement.

§ 258. *Sir Rutherford Alcock takes his departure from Japan.* —When the accounts reached Great Britain of the bombardment of Simanosaki, there was, as usual, a great outcry in Parliament and certain portions of the press against the warlike policy of Sir Rutherford Alcock. So much so that the Government, though approving of it, sent out letters of recall —at least they amounted to the same thing—as he was requested to return to England as soon as possible after receiving his dispatches from Earl Russell to that effect. In one of them his lordship softens the recall by saying, "You were ordered home that you might in person give to Her Majesty's Government fuller information as to the state of affairs than mere dispatches can convey. . . . The order given you to return

home for that purpose was by no means to be understood as implying your removal from your post." Be that as it may, His Excellency left Yokohama with addresses of regret from the leading British merchants and bankers; and even the Japanese Ministers expressed their high opinion of him in a special dispatch to Earl Russell, requesting that he might be sent back to his post. On the 24th of December Sir Rutherford and Lady Alcock embarked on board H.M.S. 'Barossa' on their homeward voyage, amid the ovations of the whole foreign community and the salvos of the military. Dr. Winchester then became Her Majesty's *Chargé d'Affaires*, and Marcus Flowers Esq., Vice-Consul.

§ 259. *Statistical returns of commerce and population at Yokohama in* 1864.—During the stirring annals of this warlike year, commerce at Yokohama improved so considerably that the total amount of exports and imports were more than doubled, being 6,729,754 dollars in 1863, and 14,441,578 dollars in 1864; the latter comprising, imports 5,443,594 dollars, and exports 8,997,484 dollars. The shipping and tonnage likewise increased, but not in such a large proportion. Vessels departed 174, of 72,596 aggregate tonnage; 141 British, of 59,263 tons. One British vessel, the steamer 'Yangtsze,' was sold to the Government for 145,000 dollars. A noteworthy feature in the shipping was the establishment of a bi-monthly arrival and departure of the Peninsular and Oriental steamships between Japan and China. The foreign population of the port, afloat and ashore, averaged from 6000 to 7000 persons. Independently of the garrison and fleet, the number of resident foreigners of all classes increased very considerably, causing a great increase in the cost of living. The number of British residents on the consular register at the close of the year was two hundred, of whom ninety were registered during the year. The health of the community was in the main good. The native population also increased very considerably. In the beginning of 1863 it was estimated at eight thousand, and had increased to twelve thousand at the close of this year.

§ 260. *Unsettled state of commerce at the port of Nagasaki.*—Nagasaki suffered greatly in its commercial relation in consequence of its proximity to what may be called the seats of war in the territories of Satsuma and Chosiu. Moreover, the foreign merchants had less chance of protection to life and property

ashore and afloat, compared with Yokohama, consequently many of them removed thither. At times there was a sudden demand for imports when foreigners were threatened with expulsion, which frequently enabled the merchants to clear off large stocks with facility; but this subsided when political circumstances returned into the *status quo.* The closing of Simanosaki Strait paralyzed both native and foreign trade while it lasted; as this is the depôt of exports for the Islands of Kiusiu, Sikok, and Nippon, up as far as the commercial capital of Osaka, native junks being the chief means of conveyance, which invariably chose the safe, lake-like route of the Inland Sea. When the strait was re-opened trade rapidly revived, and the native merchants looked to a flourishing business for the future. Seven British steam-ships were sold to daimios, realizing 570,000 dollars.

§ 261. *Hakodadi free from turbulence, and trade improving in* 1864.—As in previous years, the northern port of Hakodadi was free from the turbulence that prevailed in the south. Had there been any manifestations of attacks on foreigners and their property ashore and afloat, the community would have been entirely at the mercy of marauders, for the Government officials had no force to protect them, and only an occasional armed steamer or foreign ship of war paid the port a flying visit. Notwithstanding the absence of precautionary measures, the commercial statistics of the year showed a large increase on those of 1863. The number of merchant vessels visiting the port was eighty-two, of which forty-eight were British, exceeding in number and tonnage the total of the year previous. Of men-of-war there were ten Russian and two British, being an increase of five. This increase would undoubtedly bid fair for the future, were it not for the frequent shipwrecks which had taken place. Four vessels were lost within fifty miles of the port, three of which were British. The main cause of these repeated disasters is the danger to which ships are exposed in passing through Tsugar Straits, where a strong current prevails. Such an increase of shipping indicated an augmentation of trade. The exports for the year amounted to 414,846 dollars, being an increase of 148,711 dollars on 1863. The staple product was seaweed for the Chinese market, valued at 165,000 dollars. Other commodities were silk, silkworm eggs, salmon, deer-skins, ginsing and other medicines, cuttle-fish, irico-fish, awabec-

oysters, hotadikaimi-oysters, sulphur, oil, tobacco, and timber. Several copper and lead mines were being worked, and a coal-mine discovered not far from the port. The value of merchandise imported was computed at 205,000 dollars, which, added to the exports, made a total of external trade in foreign ships amounting to 619,846 dollars, equivalent to 154,961*l.* according to the arbitrary rate of exchange.

CHAPTER XV.

1865.

CONTENTION BETWEEN TWO FEUDAL FACTIONS FOR SUPREMACY IN THE STATE—THE SIOGOON LEAVES YEDO TO VISIT THE MIKADO AT THE OLD METROPOLIS OF KIOTO.

§ 262. Position of the contending feudal factions in Japan. § 263. Memorial of Etzizen to the Mikado in favour of foreigners. § 264. Ancient edict of outlawry against foreigners afterwards modified, and hostile provisions repealed. § 265. Japanese Ministers' dispatch on modification of edict. § 266. Humanity of Japanese to shipwrecked foreign mariners. § 267. Departure of the chief foreign sea and land forces from Japan. § 268. A Japanese steam squadron bombards Chosiu's remaining fortifications. § 269. He submits to the Mikado's Government, and retires with his son, the daimio of Nagato, to a temple. § 270. The Siogoon demands forced war contributions from his subjects. § 271. Mr. Winchester explains the Japanese system of finance. § 272. Cortége of the Siogoon on his departure from Yedo witnessed by foreigners, during its progress along the highway to Kioto.

§ 262. *Position of the contending feudal factions in Japan.*—During this year the annals of Japan, as far as foreign relations were involved, became of minor importance to the revolutionary events connected with internal affairs of state. At the same time these were the natural consequences of those hostile operations recorded in the previous chapters. At this juncture the *de facto* Government at Yedo was in accord with the *de jure* Government at Kioto as to the general policy that should be pursued, but the executive was overruled by powerful feudal factions, which strived to obtain ascendency in the state by force of arms. On the one hand was the Siogoon and his associate daimios who ruled the affairs of the realm, backed by the imperial army, and retainer-soldiery who paid them allegiance. On the other hand, the Mikado and his ministers were powerless from want of physical force, which was in the hands of the generalissimo. Then a third party stepped in, headed by the chief southern feudal barons and their armed adherents, who

contested the privileges of the Siogoon and his Government, although they acknowledged allegiance to their hereditary sovereign, the Mikado. We have seen how one of those feudal chieftains, Chosiu, the daimio of Nagato, endeavoured to settle the question by trying to seize the person of the juvenile monarch, and force him to depose the Siogoon. This was ultimately attained, but the time was not yet ripe for such a *coup d'état*, though the seeds of the revolution were sown, and grew apace. To make the position of these two great contending parties more clear, as far as territorial division was concerned, it may be stated generally that the chief daimios who espoused the Siogoon's cause held the provinces to the east and north of the latitude of Kioto (35° N.), and those opposed to him held the far richer and more densely populated domains to the west and south-west of that longitude (136° E.).

§ 263. *Memorial of Etzizen to the Mikado in favour of foreigners.*—Practical proofs have been given in these sanguinary annals of the inveterate hatred displayed by the chief western daimios and their adherents against foreigners, whom they designated "barbarians." It is only just that the views of an enlightened northern daimio, representing one of the most wealthy families of Japan, should be recorded. This was Etzizen *no-kami*, of the Etsiken family, having his lands in the north-west and an income equivalent to 240,000*l.* a year, and branches of that house to more than double that amount. Though at the time he delivered his opinions on this foreign question, he had vacated the chieftainship of his clan in favour of his eldest son, yet the venerable daimio had considerable influence in the state. The following extracts from the memorial he presented to the Mikado and Siogoon are from a translation published in the 'Japan Herald':—"Western foreigners of the present day differ greatly from those of former times. They are much more enlightened and liberal. While other nations are united in bonds of friendly commerce, Japan, standing apart in her solitude, has not known the changes in Heaven's course, and has lost the friendship of the world at large. There is no greater disgrace to our country than this. Hence, to shut up this country and drive out foreigners were a positive evil. Moreover, there are five great and powerful continents, and if all Japan were united, it would be an unequal contest to expel foreigners. How much more when the country

is not of one mind—Japan would be shivered to pieces like a roof-tile. Furthermore, treaties have been made, and if without cause on the part of the foreigners we should attempt their expulsion, the most serious result would be that we could not keep our good faith inviolate. The talked of expulsion of foreigners is a notion of those who do not know them; and our country would be destroyed. Let us by commerce conform to this law of changes in the world, and Japan also will become wealthy. Besides, all this talk about sweeping 'barbarians' from the country and shutting up Japan, confining our attention to the protection of our own sea-coast, is no way to promote the dignity of the realm. Although there is so much said at Kioto about driving out the 'barbarians,' I don't think the Mikado really reckons on success in the attempt. . . . The so-called corrupt religion of the Western nations is a different thing from the Christianity of former times. Were Japan to adopt and practise it, I am of opinion that no sects would arise to ruin or damage the country. . . . Let us stand up by the side of the five countries, and like them build many large vessels of war, and here and there along our coast erect forts, and let us inaugurate a flourishing commerce by our own vessels. . . . And now, with all respect for the Imperial authority, I beg to say, that neither the views of the Mikado's Court, nor the acts of the Siogoon's Government, being in accordance with the principles of Heaven, they have brought troubles upon us. To know these things, and not remonstrate against them, is not the part of a faithful servant of his Imperial Majesty. Saying this, I shall never change the opinions herein expressed, but, as I value the lasting welfare of the nation, I shall persist in presenting these views, as a servant of His Majesty is bound to do." There can be no doubt that this loyal and patriotic memorial, with others of similar purport from daimios more or less friendly to foreigners, influenced the minds of the Mikado, the Siogoon, and their councillors in favour of a more liberal foreign policy.

§ 264. *Ancient edict of outlawry against foreigners afterwards modified, and hostile provisions repealed.*—The last diplomatic act of Sir Rutherford Alcock with the Siogoon's Government on his departure from Japan, was to obtain copies of the edict excluding foreigners, and the subsequent proclamations modifying and repealing part of its provisions, which altogether

were only abrogated last year. Sir Rutherford, in his dispatch on the subject, says:—"The enclosed communication is a further step, giving as it does a distinct statement, which was never before attainable, of the several laws or edicts regulating the intercourse of the natives with foreigners. Thus the law of Gongen Sama, interdicting intercourse, and putting all foreigners under the ban of outlawry, so often referred to, has been modified, and its hostile provisions altogether repealed." The following extracts will show the important nature of the documents referred to:—"The 15th day of the second month of the 8th year of *Bun-Sei-Tori* (1825). [Proclamation.] As to the mode of proceeding on the arrival of foreign vessels many proclamations have formerly been issued, and one was expressly issued in the year of *Bun-kwa* (1806) with respect to a Russian ship. But many years ago an English vessel committed an act of violence at Nagasaki, and in later years the English visited the various ports in small ships and asked for firewood, water, and provisions. In the past year they landed forcibly, and either seized the rice and corn from on board the junks, or the cattle from the islands. The continuation of such overbearing proceedings, as also the intention of introducing the Christian religion, having come to our knowledge, it is impossible to remain passive. However, not only England, but also the Southern Barbaries and Western Countries are of the Christian religion, which is prohibited among us. Therefore, if in future foreign vessels should come near any port whatever, the local inhabitants shall conjointly drive them away; but, should they go away (peaceably), it is not necessary to send boats to pursue them. Should any (foreigners) land anywhere, they must be arrested, or killed; and if the ship approaches the shore it must be destroyed."

§ 265. *Japanese Ministers' dispatch on modification of edict.*—In their dispatch accompanying the decrees, the Ministers proceed to state that, "In course of time it appeared, however, that the circumstances of the world had undergone great changes, that the Foreign Powers were from day to day progressing in civilization, and the nations, through their good character and noble feelings, differed from those who had formerly made their appearance, and therefore, with the view of extending the path of friendship and mutual good feelings, the decree of the year *Bun-Sei* (1825) was in the

thirteenth year of *Tempo-Tora* (1842) modified in such a manner that, when foreign vessels in consequence of contrary wind and tide were driven towards our coast and obliged to anchor, the reason of their appearance should be ascertained from them, and if, through want of fire-wood, water, or provisions, they were prevented to depart, such articles should be supplied to them, and they were also in every other respect to be treated with kindness; but at the same time it was enjoined to fire upon them if they conducted themselves badly. Such were the stipulations for carrying on intercourse with foreign nations before the law of exclusion had been repealed. The decree of the year *Bun-Sei* was issued as a necessary measure against the bad conduct of foreign nations, that of the year *Tempo* in order to extend friendly feelings. At present navigation is progressing rapidly: treaties have been entered into with Foreign Powers, the interchange of friendship and benevolence between the subjects of the two nations (Japanese and British) are daily increasing, and the relations prove from month to month more productive of mutual prosperity, which admits of no doubt. We still await the improvement of this intercourse. The 4th day of the 11th month of the first year of Gengi (Dec. 2, 1864) [Signed] Midzuno Idzumi *no-kami*. Abe Bungo *no-kami*. Suwa Inabi *no-kami*."

§ 266. *Humanity of Japanese to shipwrecked foreign mariners.* —In confirmation of this modification of the barbarous decree being acted on, it is satisfactory to record two instances of humanity towards shipwrecked British mariners mentioned by Mr. Winchester in a dispatch to Earl Russell, dated "Yokohama, January 13th. My Lord,—It is with great satisfaction that I find it my duty to bring to your lordship's notice two additional instances of the humane and hospitable treatment by the Japanese authorities and people, of shipwrecked crews, and of pains taken by them to preserve or recover property or gear belonging to the stranded vessels. In November last the British barque 'Ashmore,' proceeding to Hakodadi from this port, was wrecked at Benton Lima, or Low Island, in the Straits of Tsungaru; and Mr. Interpreter Enslie, who started from Hakodadi on the 27th of November, and was only able to reach the scene of the disaster several days later, refers in the highest terms to the kind attention shown by the daimio of

Nambu, who, immediately on hearing of the wreck, issued orders to render the ship's company every possible assistance. Secondly, in December last, the British barque 'Onward,' chartered to take the place of the 'Ashmore,' was on her voyage to Hakodadi, wrecked at Kashima, about 250 miles from Yokohama. The captain, his wife, two children, and crew were treated with the utmost kindness by the *hatamoto* (squire of the village), the property saved from the wreck, including all their clothes. A box of treasure, containing five thousand dollars, was carefully guarded, and finally placed on board Her Majesty's steam dispatch-boat 'Coquette,' sent to their relief."

§ 267. *Departure of the chief foreign sea and land forces.*—With the foregoing assurances of a more friendly and sincere policy on the part of the *de facto* Government, and their adherents among the feudal barons, than had hitherto prevailed, the British representatives withdrew the greater part of the naval and land forces from Yokohama roadstead and settlement, leaving, however, a sufficient force to protect the lives and property of Her Majesty's subjects. The battery of Royal Artillery posted on the neighbouring height left on the 30th March, but this commanding position was held by a half battery, manned by a selection of men from the 20th Regiment. Shortly afterwards a battalion of the latter took their departure, and the detachment of Beloochees or Sepoys returned to Shanghai. Gradually the fleet that had done such gallant service diminished, until not one-fourth of the ships fluttered their pennants in the breezes of Yedo Bay.

§ 268. *A Japanese steam squadron bombards Chosiu's last fortification.*—Meanwhile the Siogoon's Government and daimio adherents were raising an army and navy to crush effectually the irrepressible Chosiu and his clan, who still held out an armed resistance to the behests of the generalissimo and his sovereign the Mikado. On his part the daimio of Nagato was endeavouring to purchase a fresh supply of arms and ammunition from foreign adventurers trading illicitly in the Inland Sea. On this head a communication was sent by the Japanese Ministers to Her Majesty's *Chargé d'Affaires*, mentioning a case to the effect that some retainers of his had visited a foreign vessel with that intent, but it turned out to be an American trader. In these inland waters a squadron of ten steamers well

armed and manned belonging to the Siogoon, Satsuma, and other adherents, under the command of Kikawa Genmoty, a Japanese admiral, attacked the remaining fortified places not reduced by the allied fleet. The principal of these was a strong stockade, which that officer, imitating the tactics of Admiral Kuper, first bombarded, then landed his men and captured the enclosure by a flank attack. There were few prisoners taken, as the party remaining had taken possession of a steamer and escaped in it to the small Islands of Tsu-sima, the daimio of which was connected by alliance with the house of Mori Daizen (Chosiu).

§ 269. *Chosiu submits to the Mikado and retires to a temple.*—On land a powerful army marched to the frontiers of Nagato and Suwo, under the command of Owari Choonangoong, the daimio whose name stands first on the list of these feudal barons. His territory was adjoining, on the east, the province in which the city of Kioto is situated, having on its sea-board excellent harbour facilities, possessing some of the richest lands in Japan, well peopled, and the revenue from which was equivalent annually to 457,875 dollars. This force was divided so as to enter Nagato at several points. A stubborn resistance was made by the desperate retainers of that clan termed the Sako party, but after five actions they were expelled from the province. Chosiu, seeing that all was lost, offered his submission to Owari through the commander of the Aki forces, who was following up the first successes. As an earnest of his renewed allegiance, he ordered his chief officers who led the attack on the Mikado's palace at Kioko to commit *hara kiri*, decapitated them, and sent their heads to Owari as an atonement for their and his own offences. The Mikado, however, under advice of his councillors, returned them as not being a sufficient atonement. Then he and his son, Mori Nagato, allowed the hair on the shaved part of their heads to grow, dressed themselves in ecclesiastical habiliments, and retired into a Sintoo temple within their territory, in token of their sincere repentance. Three other male members of this once powerful family voluntarily submitted themselves to the lesser punishment called "domiciliary confinement of the *first* class," which, according to the Penal Code of Japan, consists in adhering to the following rules:—"The gate shall be closed and the windows shut, but not nailed down. In case of illness of the person or

persons confined, medical assistance may be called at night. In case of fire, alarm may be given; if threatening to destroy the house, the confined persons may leave the house and give notice of their departure to the authorities."

§ 270. *The Siogoon demands forced war contributions from his subjects.*—Had Chosiu and his family not submitted in this manner, but stubbornly persisted in defying the Siogoon's forces, and been conquered in the end, the territories of Nagato and Suwo would have been confiscated and partitioned, the suzerain's share being Simanosaki peninsula, with command of the strait. But it was not the policy of his co-feudatory daimios that this should take place, as it would be strengthening still more the hands of the Siogoon's Government and adherents—who were already becoming too powerful and rich—by opening the port of Simanosaki to foreign trade, in lieu of paying the indemnity of three million dollars. It was evident at this time that the Government were getting hard pressed for money to carry on this war against Chosiu, and pay the expenses of the Siogoon's journeys to Kioto. At first it was supposed that he would take command of the expedition in person, but, as we have seen, Owari was delegated to that post. However, the following extract from a translation of a circular issued at Yedo indicates the low state of the treasury:—"*To the head men of the city.*—For some years the expenses of protecting the coasts, and also of repairing and building the Siogoon's palaces, besides that incurred during the last three years, when he had been twice to visit the Mikado at Kioto, has been very great. Now he is again about to leave Yedo upon an expedition requiring more money than ever. Therefore, let it be known in Yedo, Osaka, and all the provinces under the Siogoon's Government, that the people must contribute to him as much as they can. Especially the merchants of Yedo, where the Siogoon's presence renders their business more safe and very much larger than in the other cities and provinces." A postscript stated the money subscribed would be paid by instalments in ten years, but no mention is made of interest. Of course it was a forced contribution, but how much was raised by it was never known to foreigners.

§ 271. *Mr. Winchester explains the Japanese system of finance.*—Mr. Winchester, who was in charge of the British legation at this time, remarks that if the Government were obliged to pay

so large an indemnity as three million dollars, it would be felt as a grievous burden. Already large sums had been expended on ships and munitions of war, the drafts covering which were still in the hands of foreigners unpaid. On Japanese finance generally he communicated the following to Earl Russell:—"It has always been a matter of difficulty to obtain any exact account of the revenues of the Siogoonship. It is of course composed of the land taxes and duties accruing on the commerce of the territories forming the appanage. The quit-rents on which the eighteen great daimios hold their possessions, estimated at one-third the whole country, are understood in all, save the obligation of military service, to be nominal. In some cases, the presentation of a few horses, a sword, or other warlike stores, which can only be considered as peppercorns, are the whole amount of their quit-rents. In certain settled contingencies, as when the palace is burned, when the Siogoon visits Kioto, &c., there are regulated contributions of moderate amounts paid by these daimios, but they collect the local revenue through their own officials, and furnish no account either of receipts or expenditure. It can hardly be believed that these form any very considerable addition to the actual revenue. With respect to the lands held by the smaller or *foodai* daimios, estimated at another third, it is understood that the land-tax, whether in kind or money, is collected by the local officers under the surveillance of those of the Siogoon, and that only a very moderate percentage, after the cost of administration and the household expenses of the daimios are allowed for, can fall to the share of the Siogoon. With respect to the remaining third, which as imperial territory is presumed to be more immediately under the control of the Siogoon's Government, the action of the Japanese system will be understood better if it is kept in mind that officers of the higher rank, such as governors, vice-governors, hatamotos, and military commanders, are not paid in money, but receive as their salaries rents and taxes of certain lands farmed out to them, subject to contributions perhaps somewhat larger in amount than those spoken of. The transit dues on internal commerce are known to be moderate, and the expensive surveillance on foreign commerce is sufficient to absorb the greater part of the out-turn of the legal duties. It is understood that in emergencies the Siogoon has the right to call on the great bankers

at Osaka to make advances free of interest. In illustration of this subject I forward a memorandum from Mr. Siebold, which embodies the notions current among the Japanese in contact with us on these subjects." "*Memorandum.*—The revenues of the Siogoon's Government are not officially known, but the general impression of the officials serving at Court is that it must amount to 8,000,000 koku (about 6,000,000*l.*). This is composed of the revenues paid in rice and transmitted through the collectors of rent, but does not include duties and taxes, which are never included in the returns of revenues. Neither does it include the gain made in silver and gold mines, and by the re-*minting* of dollars into Japanese coin. The larger expenses of the country are paid in land revenues, so that all the officers who receive large salaries are paid in lands, by the revenues of which they subsist. Therefore, the expenditure of the Siogoon principally consists in the expenses of his own household, and the pay of the lower officers and military class, who are paid in rice. The daimios do not pay any tribute. On the contrary, the Siogoon is supposed to lend them money at the low rates of five to seven per cent., while the legal interest is about twelve per cent. His average household expenses are estimated at 360,000 kobangs, equivalent to about 100,000*l.* sterling."

§ 272. *Cortége of the last of the Siogoons on his visit to the Mikado.*—It has been mentioned that the Siogoon intended accompanying the army against Chosiu in person, but circumstances led to the abandonment of this intention. Nevertheless, as his armed retinue were ready for the march, he left Yedo in state, and proceeded on his journey to visit the Mikado at Kioto. As no cortége of this kind will be seen again in Japan, it is proper that some account of it should be recorded in these brief annals, especially as it was witnessed by nearly the whole foreign community at Yokohama. Times had changed, and application to the authorities allowing the foreigners to see the procession free from danger was granted. An eye-witness describes the scene in the 'Japan Herald' of the 10th of June as follows:—"The Siogoon passed through Kanagawa to-day. . . . . It was notified by circular and by advertisement in the morning that an application had been made to Yedo, requesting that foreigners should have the privilege of witnessing the procession. Permission was granted, and a spot selected for the purpose. From nine o'clock in the morning

until two in the afternoon there was a continuous stream of foreigners from Yokohama to the appointed rendezvous. A great number had determined to make a regular pic-nic of it, and a better locality could hardly have been selected. It was on a small knoll under the shadow of fine umbrageous trees, and separated from the *tokaido* by about half a stone's throw at a spot where, for a hundred and fifty yards, there was a cessation of buildings, and consequently an uninterrupted view. To those who arrived early, the uncertainty of seeing anything, and the idea that the straggling parties of soldiers or baggage-carriers might be all that would be seen, was a little tiring; for the army of the Siogoon marched very differently to European armies. Armed retainers of daimios walked along, apparently without any object; sometimes in twos, threes, or singly, and appeared to be only strollers along the road. The baggage was carried in the ordinary manner that Japanese gentlemen had their personal luggage conveyed, and, except that the line of carriers was a little more continuous, it hardly indicated anything very much out of the common. At last, however, a clearing of the road by the Vice-Governor of Kanagawa himself, who arrived on horseback, put êvêryone on the *qui vive*. It was a pleasant incident, too, that the people were driven away specially who would have interfered with the foreigners' view. The Vice-Governor then dismounting, remained there until all was passed. Shortly after two a distant beating of drums was heard, and on marched the vanguard, two drummers in front; the chief officer of the infantry bodyguard on horseback following, and then several small field howitzers, drawn by single led ponies. Next came a regiment of about six hundred men four deep, shouldering Enfield rifles with fixed bayonets. Their uniform was a hybrid between European and Japanese; the upper part of the latter, and the trowsers of the former cut, only loosely tied round the ancle. They were accoutred in heavy marching order, with knapsacks and cooking utensils; stepping out with the utmost regularity, and showing good drilling to that extent. Another regiment followed, their uniform and weapons being purely Japanese; but they were preceded by twenty drummers, who beat their drums after the French style. The more immediate bodyguard of the Siogoon followed, some of whom carried a large lacquered box, containing the arms of the generalissimo. As it was carried

along, the officials among the spectators bowed low to it several times. Then came a cavalcade of about twenty horsemen, all grandly dressed, and their horses handsomely caparisoned. These were the high officials forming the Siogoon's staff, in the midst of whom he rode along, dressed in a surcoat of buff colour, embroidered with gold, having his coat of arms emblazoned on his back."

CHAPTER XVI.

1865 (CONTINUED).

SIR HARRY PARKES INSTRUCTED BY EARL RUSSELL ON BRITISH POLICY IN JAPAN — ALLIED ENVOYS AT OSAKA BAY RECEIVE CONSENT OF MIKADO TO THE TREATIES.

§ 273. Sir Harry Parkes arrives in Japan as British Minister. § 274. Earl Russell's dispatch on the position of affairs in Japan. § 275. Dispatch continued. § 276. Concluding paragraphs of the dispatch. § 277. Indemnity instalment of five hundred thousand dollars paid. § 278. Sir Harry Parkes has an interview with the Gorojio, or Council of State, at Yedo. § 279. A naval diplomatic expedition leaves Yokohama for Osaka. § 280. Conference between the Gorojio and the allied envoys in Osaka Bay. § 281. The Mikado gives his consent to the treaties with the Siogoon. § 282. Friendly disposition of the inhabitants at Hiogo to the officers and crews of the squadron. § 283. Chosiu again in open rebellion against the Siogoon's party. § 284. Sir Harry Parkes, visiting Simanosaki, meets some Nagato officers. § 285. Municipal Council established at Yokohama. § 286. How the British residents spent Christmas there. § 287. General improvement in money and commerce at the settlement. § 288. Social amenities and state of trade at Nagasaki. § 289. Destructive fire, and consular trade returns at Hakodadi.

§ 273. *Sir Harry Parkes arrives in Japan as British Minister.*—Meanwhile important changes took place in the British diplomatic staff in Japan. Sir Harry Parkes was appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of the Siogoon, as successor to Sir Rutherford Alcock. It will be in the recollection of those who have interested themselves in affairs of the Far East, that this energetic officer gained well-deserved celebrity in China during the war of 1860, when he was treacherously seized along with a party under a flag of truce, and imprisoned by the Government. Also that he escaped the tortures inflicted on his companions by his courage and diplomatic skill, for which he was rewarded by the title of K.C.B., and promotion from the consular service at Shanghai to Minister of the Legation at Yokohama. He was in the former port at the time of his appointment, and on his departure the residents entertained him at a banquet, when it

transpired that he had been twenty-five years in China, where he had acquired a knowledge of diplomacy rarely to be obtained in the East. On the 24th of June he left China "with all his honours thick upon him," and arrived in Japan on the 30th, to continue his career as a diplomatist more brilliantly than ever. He entered upon his post at Yokohama on the 10th July, and Mr. Winchester, the *chargé d'affairés*, took his departure for Shanghai, as consul at that port, while Sir Rutherford Alcock arrived shortly afterwards as successor to Sir Frederick Bruce, the British Minister Plenipotentiary at Peking.

§ 274. *Earl Russell's dispatch on the position of affairs in Japan.*—On the appointment of Sir Harry Parkes, Earl Russell sent him instructions in an exhaustive dispatch reviewing the past foreign relations with Japan, and the position of affairs at this juncture, that to omit its salient points in these annals would render them incomplete. His lordship opened the subject by stating that, "The reports recently received by Her Majesty's Government from Japan lead to the conclusion that a great social revolution is taking place in that country, and that a civil war may be the consequence. It would seem that these internal commotions arise almost exclusively from the relations which have of late years been established between Japan and foreign nations. Whilst the long established policy of the Japanese Government, which rigorously excluded all foreigners from Japan, was maintained, the great feudal lords, or daimios, and the population at large, seem to have acquiesced in the form of government that had existed for centuries in the country, and which involved the most complicated relations between the Mikado and the Siogoon. But the treaties recently concluded by the Siogoon with Foreign Powers, and the intercourse between Japan and the outer world, to which these treaties have given rise, have led to fundamental changes in the condition of the country, and, apparently, in the opinions and policy of the Japanese Government, and of the daimios. When Lord Elgin went to Japan he found the Siogoon *de facto* sovereign of the country, to whom obedience was generally yielded, and who appeared to possess the power, as representing the Japanese nation, to enter into treaties with Foreign States. Accordingly the treaty which Lord Elgin concluded was signed and ratified by the Siogoon. It was not until some time later, when the

representatives of foreign countries in Japan were brought into more intimate relations with the Japanese Government and the Japanese people, that it was discovered there was a still higher power than that of the Siogoon; that the authority wielded by this generalissimo of the Imperial forces was delegated to him by the Mikado, who is the sovereign *de jure*, and that there were great feudal lords who, superior to the Siogoon in rank, only obeyed him when he had the means of enforcing obedience."

§ 275. *Earl Russell's dispatch continued.*—"It is held by some of the Japanese that a treaty with the Siogoon, in order to be binding, must be ratified by the Mikado. Upon this point the most contradictory assertions have been made by the Japanese themselves. The great daimio Satsuma, however, fully asserted the treaty-making power to reside in the Siogoon. Her Majesty's Government have assumed, as they had a right to do, that the Siogoon was in possession of the supreme authority in Japan; that he had the power to enter into the treaty concluded with this country, and that they have held him to be bound by it. In carrying out the stipulations of that treaty, they have acted in strict good faith towards the Siogoon, and in consenting to a modification of its terms they have accepted the representations, and have taken into consideration the alleged difficulties of his Government. It was in this spirit that they agreed, in conjunction with the Governments of France, the Netherlands, and the United States, that the opening of the ports of Nee-e-gata and Hiogo, and the city of Osaka, to foreign trade should be deferred. On its part the Government of the Siogoon has from the first expressed its desire to fulfil its treaty engagements, but has declared its inability to do so to the full extent, owing to the opposition of the Japanese people, who, it alleges, look with jealousy and aversion upon foreigners, and to the ill-will of some of the most powerful daimios who, it is declared, are opposed to all intercourse with foreign states, and who are too strong to be coerced by the Siogoon. The murderous attacks upon foreigners, and the aggressions upon foreign shipping in the Inland Sea, which seem to warrant these assertions of the Siogoon's Government, gave rise to the successful expeditions against the strongholds of the daimios of Satsuma and Nagato. It was only after the defeat of these two powerful feudal lords that doubts arose as to the truth of the state-

ments put forward by the Siogoon's Government. Both Satsuma and Chosiu of Nagato, immediately after the destruction of Kagosima and Simanosaki, sent agents with friendly overtures to the European representatives in Japan. They declared that in attacking foreigners and resisting all intercourse with them, they were acting under the orders of the Siogoon, and that they were not opposed to such intercourse; but that, on the contrary, they were ready to open their ports to foreigners, and were only prevented doing so by the Siogoon, who desired to have the monopoly of the foreign trade, and to exclude the rival daimios from any share in it. These statements receive confirmation from the course recently pursued by the Daimios of Satsuma and Nagato, who have shown every desire to enter into the most friendly relations with the representatives of Foreign Powers in Japan, and have sent young men to this country for education, and officers to enter into confidential communications with Her Majesty's Government."

§ 276. *Concluding paragraphs of Earl Russell's dispatch.*— "Her Majesty's Government will adhere in good faith to the stipulations entered into with the Siogoon. But they cannot forget that, owing to the representations of his Government, which are now stated to have been unfounded, they have already delayed to claim the rights conferred by that treaty upon British subjects to trade with certain ports in Japan; and that, when the Government of the Siogoon, after the destruction of the forts of Simanosaki, had the option of either paying an indemnity, or of opening at once the port of Simanosaki, or some more eligible port in the vicinity of the strait to foreign trade, it chose the payment of the indemnity. So long as Her Majesty's Government believed that there was danger to the Siogoon's Government, owing either to the jealousy of the daimios, or to the prejudices of the Japanese people, in permitting foreigners to trade with the ports mentioned in the treaty, Her Majesty's Government were willing to allow their treaty rights to remain for a time in abeyance. But it would now appear that there is no such danger to the Government of the Siogoon, and that the opening of other Japanese ports would be hailed with much satisfaction by several of the most powerful daimios, and by the Japanese people. Whilst the principal daimios are ready to open their ports to a lucrative and important British trade, Her Majesty's Government are

willing to submit to the total exclusion of Her Majesty's subjects from those ports upon insufficient grounds. Her Majesty's Government are, however, anxious to know whether the representations thus made to them agree with your own observations made on the spot. You are therefore instructed, in conjunction with the representatives of France, the Netherlands, and the United States, and also in communication with the Gorojio, to ascertain the real state of affairs. You will understand that Her Majesty's Government would prefer a large and healthy extension of commerce, as stipulated by the treaty, to the payment of money indemnities. But, if the Siogoon prefers the payments, they must be made at the times stated in the convention. In no case can Her Majesty's Government allow that the Siogoon's Government should spend its resources in ships, cannon, and armaments while the payments stipulated by the convention are delayed upon frivolous and dishonest pretexts. I wait anxiously your reply to this dispatch, and shall be ready to place the most entire confidence in your statements as to the real state of affairs." This able document may be called a *résumé* of the voluminous dispatches of Sir Rutherford Alcock and Consul Winchester, together with the other officers in charge of the consulates, including reports and memoranda of interpreters to the legation; which there is no space in these brief annals to allude to, further than has been done. It was written at an opportune time, and dated August 23rd, for Earl Russell vacated the Foreign Office on the 10th of November; and though his successor, Lord Clarendon, was a prescient statesman, still he could not have reviewed the position of affairs so clearly from not having been cognizant of the circumstances in detail like his predecessor.

§ 277. *Indemnity instalment of five hundred thousand dollars paid.*—Armed with this dispatch, Sir Harry Parkes was prepared to bring matters to an issue, in conjunction with his colleagues representing France, the Netherlands, and the United States, the Prussian Envoy having taken his departure in consequence of some misunderstanding with the Japanese Government as to the ratification of the treaty with his King. It has been stated that the British Minister entered upon his diplomatic duties at Yokohama and Yedo about the end of June, but he did not receive this dispatch until the end of October. In the interim an important step had been taken

with regard to the indemnity question. It appears that, while Her Majesty's Government were anxious to renounce a money payment, the other three Governments claimed at least small cash indemnities—France for firing on the 'Kienchang;' the Netherlands for the 'Medusa;' and the United States for the 'Wyoming' on similar foundations. This was agreed upon; and so negotiations were conducted in a dilatory and uncertain manner for several months, during Consul Winchester's charge of the legation as well as Sir Harry Parkes. All through these tedious negotiations the Siogoon's Government were opposed to the immediate opening of Hiogo and Osaka. At length they resolved to pay the stipulated amount by instalments according to the convention of 22nd of October, 1864; and on the 21st of August, 1865, a high official arrived at the British Legation with the first instalment of 500,000 Mexican dollars. As the aforesaid convention had not been ratified, the four Ministers were dubious about receiving the coins; but after consultation it was agreed to do so, and they were duly counted out, and deposited in the coffers of the two banks at Yokohama to their conjoint orders. At the same time, the money was to remain intact until the plenipotentiaries received instructions from their united Governments how the money was to be disposed of.

§ 278. *Sir Harry Parkes has an interview with the Gorojio at Yedo.*—Although the allied Envoys agreed to accept this instalment, yet they did so with the proviso that it should in no degree affect the right of their respective Governments either to claim the literal fulfilment of the conditions of the convention, or to negotiate for equivalent advantages in return for the accommodation that the Japanese Government would obtain by delay. In the third article of that convention it was specified that the three million dollars should be paid by six quarterly instalments; but the Gorojio proposed that an interval of twelve months should elapse between the payment of the first and second instalments, and were silent in respect to the discharge of the remaining sums. This was an attempt at returning to the old policy of procrastination and tergiversation. But they found in Sir Harry Parkes an experienced diplomatist, up to every move of Asiatic chicanery among the cunning courtiers of Peking, and he was not to be out-manœuvred by the tricky *ometskys* of Yedo. Accordingly he visited the Ministers at the

capital, where he remained two days at a temporary residence placed at his disposal during the erection of the new Legation buildings. To his satisfaction he found that the right of residence at Yedo, which may be said at one time to have almost lapsed, was then, as a consequence of the energetic measures of the previous year, practically recovered. He spoke of the prolonged absence of the Siogoon and four out of the six members of his chief council, who were at Osaka; and he gathered from an incidental remark that his return was not soon expected. A report was abroad that the Siogoon had narrowly escaped destruction by an attempt to blow up with gunpowder a house where he had to pass the night. He congratulated them on this escape from danger, but they gave an evasive reply. However, he returned from the interview impressed with the conviction that the real administrative power was not in Yedo.

§ 279. *A naval diplomatic expedition leaves Yokohama for Osaka.*—At a second interview he broached to the Gorojio the most important diplomatic subject of all, namely, the ratification of the treaties by the Mikado. They replied that they had not lost sight of the question, but the tone of their remarks did not afford great room for hope that the realization of this desirable result admitted of speedy or easy attainment. Under these circumstances, he saw that the only way to try and secure that engagement, besides the immediate opening of Hiogo and Osaka in lieu of the indemnity, was to proceed thither and open up negotiations with the Mikado through the Siogoon on the spot. On holding a consultation with his colleagues they were unanimous on the point, and that a naval expedition in force, but with no hostile intent, should be undertaken without delay. Accordingly, Sir Harry Parkes put himself in communication with Admiral King, who had succeeded Admiral Kuper as British Commander-in-chief of the naval forces in China and Japan. The Admiral placed his own flag-ship, the 'Princess Royal,' at the plenipotentiary's disposal for himself and staff, and detailed four other vessels from the squadron, with the prospect of adding the 'Perseus' and a gun-boat. The French Minister had a frigate and corvette at his disposal, and the Dutch agent a corvette. The United States *Chargé d'Affaires* had no national vessel, but he was provided with accommodation in one of Her Majesty's ships. On the Japanese Ministers learning that the expedi-

tion was in contemplation, they came down from Yedo on purpose to dissuade the foreign representatives from the proposed movement. This was a noteworthy circumstance, being the first occasion on which any member of the Gorojio had called on a foreign Minister at his own residence. They were assured that the objects of the expedition were strictly of a friendly nature; and on their part they promised to maintain the tranquillity of Yokohama during the absence of the squadron.

§ 280. *Conferences between the allied Envoys and the Gorojio at Hiogo.*—The allied squadron left Yokohama on the 1st of November, and arrived off Hiogo on the 4th. This port is situated at the head of a spacious land-locked bay, named *Isumi Nada*, or "Sea of Isumi," at the eastern extremity of the so-called "Inland Sea." In a due east direction on the opposite shore, a short distance inland, stands Osaka, the great commercial emporium of Japan. Between the two places there is easy communication both by land and water, the distance by the former being about twenty miles, and fifteen by the latter. On the arrival of the vessels the weather was stormy, but it became calmer, so that the steam-launches had no difficulty in crossing the bay, and the bar at the entrance to the stream that leads up to the city, which is an outlet of the river that flows through the Mikado's capital of Kioto about thirty-five miles inland. At this time the Siogoon and his four councillors, members of the Gorojio, were up at the metropolis, deliberating on grave affairs of State with their Sovereign and his Ministers. On their return after a few days, the foreign Envoys found no difficulty in opening up communications with them at Osaka, and making arrangements for conferences. However, the Japanese Ministers preferred holding these on board the ships, to receiving the four representatives on shore. They then had two interviews, at which the latter proposed "to accept the sanction of the treaties by the Mikado; the immediate opening of Hiogo and Osaka, and the revision of the tariff, as equivalents for the remission of two-thirds of the indemnity," or two million dollars. The earnestness with which these points were discussed showed that it was a favourable moment for the allies to press their policy on the Siogoon, especially when they were attended by a considerable naval force as a proof of the determination of the Four Powers to insist

upon the performance and ratification of their treaties by the Mikado as the highest legitimate authority in the realm.

§ 281. *The Mikado gives his consent to the treaties with the Siogoon.*—The terms proposed were of such grave consideration, and the resolute attitude of the plenipotentiaries, with their demonstration of physical force, created further deliberations both at Osaka and Kioto, causing a delay of fourteen days more. At last, on the 24th, terms, not conclusive, but generally satisfactory, were arrived at. These were embodied in the following brief notification issued by the four Envoys to the subjects of their respective countries:—"1. The Mikado has given his formal sanction to the treaties concluded by the Siogoon with Foreign Powers. 2. Negotiations for the revision of the tariff on a basis agreed upon will at once be proceeded with at Yedo. 3. The opening of the port of Hiogo and the city of Osaka is guaranteed at the time mentioned in the London convention of 1862, or at an earlier date if circumstances should permit." As these promises did not meet the demands of the Treaty Powers, the Envoys considered it necessary to insist upon payment of the indemnity, which they agreed to without any demur, saying that the second instalment of 500,000 dollars was then at Yedo ready to be delivered.

§ 282. *Friendly disposition of the inhabitants to the officers and crews of the squadron.*—During the three weeks that the squadron lay at the anchorage off Hiogo, constant communication was kept up with the shore, and parties of officers, in the course of daily walks or excursions, traversed the country in many directions. They were invariably treated with goodwill by the private classes of the people, who in return were freely permitted to visit the ships. These endeavours to promote an interchange of civilities at first received a check from the authorities of Osaka, who issued a notice forbidding people to go on board the ships; but on becoming informed of the circumstance, Sir Harry Parkes insisted on the interdict being withdrawn as publicly as it had been imposed. Then numerous visitors came, often accompanied by their families, satisfied by personal inspection the universal curiosity and admiration which the size and equipment of the flag-ship occasioned.

§ 283. *Chosiu again in open rebellion against the Siogoon.*—Several months before these negotiations commenced at the anchorage off Hiogo, the irrepressible Chosiu and his adherents

were again in open rebellion against the Siogoon and his Government; but he had a wholesome dread of again showing fight to the foreign forces. The old man and his eldest son, who ruled as daimio of Nagato, cast off their sham submission, left their mock ecclesiastic retirement at the temple, shaved their heads, buckled on their armour, and at the head of their armed retainers marched to the frontiers of the territory, bidding defiance to the generalissimo and his army. Again he threatened to make a descent on Kioto or Osaka, and try conclusions with his opponents for securing supremacy in the state. This renewed threatening attitude of Chosiu determined the Siogoon and his party to assemble once more an army sufficiently powerful to crush the rebellious daimio effectually. Two or three times he was on the eve of taking command of the Imperial army in person, but affairs of greater moment at Osaka and Kioto prevented his taking the field. Of these not the least in importance was the arrival of the allied squadron in the waters near his own stronghold at Osaka, with the four Envoys on board resolved to conclude satisfactory terms for the treaty stipulations. We have seen how this terminated; but these were not effected without the two chief negotiators of the Gorojio being dismissed from the administration, and deprived of their titles of nobility by the Mikado. On the interpreters of the British and French embassies entering Osaka to inquire about these matters, they observed a considerable movement of armed boats on the river, and that the guards detached for the foreign visitors greatly exceeded the number appointed on previous occasions. They learned that the Siogoon had left Osaka for Fushimi—a great fortress in the interior guarding the approaches to Kioto—with a considerable body of troops.

§ 284. *Visit of Sir Harry Parkes to Simanosaki. Meets Chosiu's officers.*—Having concluded these important negotiations, the fleet dispersed, and Sir Harry Parkes took his departure in the 'Perseus' for Shanghai, as it would enable him to visit Simanosaki, and ascertain if Chosiu was mounting new armaments at the straits. On arrival there the batteries were still in their dismantled state; but there were small field-pieces in the camp of the retainers on shore, which, however, did not come under the stipulations entered into, as that only referred to heavy ordnance not to be replaced in the fortifications. Several officers of Nagato came on board, who were believed to be in

the confidence of Chosiu, and freely communicated their views to the British Minister. On being asked for information as to the conditions demanded by the Siogoon, they replied that these simply consisted in a summons to them to send certain of their leading *Karos* to Osaka to discuss matters with his Ministers, but that distrusting the treatment to which their envoys might be subjected, compliance had hitherto been declined. Sir Harry Parkes assured them of the complete neutrality of Her Majesty's Government in their dispute with the Siogoon, and recommended them, as he had repeatedly done to the Gorojio, a policy of accommodation. These officers were furnished with a copy of the Mikado's decree approving the treaties, as follows (Translation): "The Imperial consent is given to the treaties, and you will therefore undertake the necessary arrangements in connection therewith. To *Iyemochi*" (Siogoon's name). "The above decree having been just issued shall be communicated to all the daimios and hatamotos without exception. You will be informed of the terms of the proclamation at Yedo. I hereby put this on record. (Signed) Matsudaira Hoki *no-kami*, 24th November, 1865." They expressed themselves satisfied with its authenticity, and admitted that it would generally be respected by the daimios. They remarked that the Siogoon could only have obtained it with difficulty, but, as the Mikado had by this act taken the responsibility of the treaties upon himself, the former would be relieved from considerable embarrassment.

§ 285. *Municipal council established at Yokohama.*—During these troublous times among the Japanese rulers and the warlike nobility, affairs were comparatively quiescent with the foreigners at the treaty ports. The residents at Yokohama saw the necessity of establishing a municipal council, on the model of the municipalities in the open ports in China, for the construction and maintenance of public works, and general police and sanitary purposes. Accordingly they applied to their respective ministers for powers to elect members, and generally to constitute the council by their authority. Though the number of residents qualified to vote were little more than a hundred, yet they represented six different nationalities, and it was necessary that members should be elected from each in proportion to their number and commercial position in the community. Of the four Ministers one only demurred (United

States) to the establishment of a council; but he assented after much discussion and squabbling. The election took place in May, and resulted as follows:—British, 11; American, 5; French, 4; Dutch, 2; Prussian, 2; and Swiss, 1.—Total, 25. On the 9th of June the council was organized by the adoption of a constitution and election of officers; an American, Mr. Schoyer, being elected chairman, equivalent to the post of mayor. Under his energetic services an efficient body of native police with European officers were enrolled, and a great deal done for the improvement of the settlement, and comfort of the community. On the 21st of August a meeting of "Land Renters," as the electors are termed, was held at the British Consulate, to discuss some question as to the power of the council in suppressing indecency among the natives. Mr. Schoyer spoke warmly on the occasion, and when he sat down turned suddenly pale, and fell back dead, under a stroke of apoplexy. He was a native of Baltimore, Maryland, U.S., and sixty-five years of age.

§ 286. *How the British residents spent Christmas in Yokohama.*—While the material condition of the swampy settlement was being improved, the social and religious wants of the community were not neglected. Some idea of this may be formed from the following account, given in the 'Japan Herald,' of the manner in which the British residents at Yokohama held their Christmas: "We cannot pass over the season of Christmas without paying to it the homage which every Englishman feels—and feels the more deeply the further he is condemned by adverse fate to dwell far away from those social meetings which show the truth of the saying, 'that blood is thicker than water,'—and which compose the real pleasures of Christmas. One cannot taste the real pleasure here. It is somewhat difficult to carry off a Christmas dinner in the East with that gusto which the rite demands. We are at great advantage, however, in Japan over all other English exiles. Japan, its climate, its scenery, its foliage, are all so like England that we may almost cheat ourselves into the belief, when we see the holly, the ivy, and the mistletoe in the old familiar places, that we are at home. We cannot leave the subject without mention of the Christmas decorations of the church. . . . Fortunately the British chaplain, the Rev. M. Bailey, has a pretty taste for architecture, and with simple and

rapidly constructed lines of holly, laurel, box and fir leaves, so contrived to change completely the bald appearance of his church—here indicating arches which should exist in more permament material; there concealing with the same means some unsightly ornamental excrescence which never should exist at all—so that the whole appearance of the interior has been changed, and a very small exercise of fancy carries back the mind of the spectator to some grey old country church at home of the time of Richard II. Japan is singularly rich in evergreens, and its climate comparatively mild, allows also the introduction into floral decoration of many plants which are rare exotics in England. Thus, while the pillars of Christ Church, Yokohama, are wreathed with our old home plants—the holly, the ivy, and the pine—the climber which bears the passion flower furnishes beautiful wreaths for the pulpit with the bright scarlet berries of the *Aucuba Japonica* interspersed, and the deep crimson of the camellia relieved against its dark glistening leaves; various coloured species of Chrysanthemum fill the font, and the long feathery awns of the bamboo lightly ornament the roof. Appropriate texts, in ancient lettering in red and gold, fill the intervals between the arches, and the memorial tablets are crowned with their yellow wreaths of *immortelles*. A cross, formed of the words, 'Mercy, Truth, Righteousness, and Peace,' framed in foliage, relieved by white flowers, hangs over the altar, while the south-west wall is draped most appropriately with the national flags, reminding us that Yokohama is a garrison town, and naval station, and the residence of one of Her Majesty's representatives. The Rev. I. C. Parkyn, Chaplain of H.M.S. 'Pelorus,' assisted Mr. Bailey and his family in dressing the church, and very much of the beautiful effect, we are told, is due, not only to his suggestions, but also to his active hands."

§ 287. *General improvement in money and commerce at Yokohama.*—Commercial affairs were fluctuating at Yokohama, as the native traders were more or less influenced by the internal revolution that was progressing. However, there was a great increase on the value and quantity of imports and exports that passed through the hands of foreign merchants, and their profits were enlarged by the favourable rates of exchange between dollars and itziboos. Had it not been for this it would have been an unprofitable year for the merchants, especially in

the items of the import trade, which were not only low in price, but the markets were overstocked by excessive shipments from China of surplus manufactured commodities, through heavy failures at Shanghai and other treaty ports. At one time metals fell below their cost in Great Britain, while textile fabrics left a small margin for the importer. The native dealers had it pretty well their own way with imports, and, to a great extent, also with exports, in consequence of their combining together against the foreigners, while they competed with each other, and thereby injured themselves. This was especially the case among the purchasers of silk, who bid high prices to secure early shipments, while the stocks brought into the market were moderate, and limited to the quantity actually sold. There was an unprecedented demand for silkworms' eggs for export to France and Italy in consequence of the disease which ravaged the worms in Europe this year. It was found that the varieties of Japanese silkworms were more healthy than any others, especially those produced from green eggs; the worms of that variety spinning only once a year, and consequently producing a fuller cocoon, besides being more hardy. The supply of these being comparatively small, some cunning dealers coloured spurious eggs, but the trick was soon discovered and the cards rejected. Altogether upwards of a million and a half sheets of eggs were sent by the fortnightly mail steamers to Europe. The consular report of trade contains the following statistics:—Shipping, 168 vessels, of 75,486 tons. Imports, 14,194,771 dollars, of which 10,687,015 dols., was in British ships; exports, 18,490,230, making a total of foreign trade of 32,685,001 dols., equivalent to about eight millions sterling. The duties collected at the Custom House amounted to 452,305 dols., of which 242,254 were on imports, and 310,051 on exports. The total of the trade in 1865 was nearly double that of 1864, and quite fourfold that of 1863; and of this large trade about six-sevenths was carried in British vessels. The only decrease was in cotton freight, in consequence of the cessation of the American civil war, opening up the cotton export from the Southern States.

§ 288. *Social amenities and state of trade in the port of Nagasaki.*—At Nagasaki several outrages on foreigners occurred during the year, but fortunately none were killed, while one or two of the assailants were seriously wounded by revolver shots

from their intended victims. Notwithstanding this continued danger from lawless ruffians, the foreign community never lost an occasion to enjoy themselves and entertain their naval visitors from the men-of-war coming into harbour from time to time. The *Fête Napoléon* was especially held as a day of rejoicing, as the French had just completed a chapel, wherein the religious services of the day were held. After this, games of all sorts were entered into, and a ball was given by a wealthy resident in the evening, when the French Consulate and several residences were brilliantly illuminated. In like manner the Christmas festivities were kept up with great spirit. In the morning a paper hunt was got up, much to the astonishment of the natives, who could not imagine the reason which induced the staid and sober foreign merchants to dress themselves in red coats and scour the country after pieces of paper. The foreign residents were slowly increasing, and numbered at the close of the year 166; of whom 70 were British; 32 American; 26 Dutch; 19 Prussian; 14 French; 3 Portuguese, and 2 Swiss. Many visitors from China remained during the summer months to recruit their health, living in bungalows on the beautiful hills surrounding the charming lake-like harbour. There was a considerable decrease in the values of foreign exports and imports as compared with 1864; at the same time the sale of steamers reached the total of 699,500 dols., being twelve in number, six of which were sold to Satsuma, and seven British built, of the value of 527,000 dols. A very large business was transacted also in arms and ammunition, of which but a very small portion was reported to the Custom House; and the Chinese sold 350 bars of Peking gold at 225 dols., equal to 78,750 dols. The principal exports were silk, tea, tobacco, camphor, and vegetable wax.

§ 289. *Destructive fire, and consular trade returns at Hakodadi.*—In the early part of the year a disastrous fire broke out in Hakodadi, which burned down several ranges of native store-houses, at the time containing an enormous quantity of produce accumulated in view of the commencement of the export trade. The fire also attacked the Government coal depôt, and the contents remained unextinguished for a week afterwards. The conflagration extended over a space of about ten thousand square yards, with a water frontage on the harbour and a canal at the back, and raged between the Japanese ship-yard and

the saw-mills of the West Pacific Company. An outrage was perpetrated by four Yakonins on a Japanese in foreign employ, but he was rescued by the British Consul and his master, and one fellow taken into custody and punished. The consular trade-returns from this port show a decrease on those of the previous year in the number and tonnage of shipping, being only 45 vessels of 13,725 tons, against 71 ships of 20,092 tons. Of the former 27 were British of 9664 tons. However, the value of the exports and imports had slightly increased, being for the former, British 359,901 dollars, against 356,758 in 1864, other foreigners, 101,914 dollars, against 58,088 in the previous year. The value of imports was, British 73,474 dollars, against 83,070 in 1864, and other nationalities 60,502 dollars, against 7727 in the year previous. It would thus appear that the British trade was nearly stationary, while greater activity was observable in the traffic carried on in foreign bottoms. Trade continued to suffer from various monopolies and restrictions imposed by the authorities. Some of the former, however, they abandoned towards the close of the year. Still there was no inducement given to native traders, who could not compete with the officials that monopolized the greater part of the trade; and hence there were few arrived and located themselves in Hakodadi during the year 1865.

CHAPTER XVII.

1866.

CONTENDING FACTIONS ARMING WITH FOREIGN WAR MATÉRIEL — ENGAGEMENT AND VICTORY OF NAGATO FORCES — SATSUMA ENTERTAINS THE BRITISH MINISTER.

§ 290. Complicated relations between the Siogoon and the daimios. § 291. Daimio grievances against the Siogoon's Government. § 292. The two contending factions pay allegiance to the Mikado. § 293. Foreign arms, munitions, and a man-of-war for the Japanese. § 294. Abrogation of the ancient edict prohibiting natives of Japan from leaving the country. § 295. Commencement of foreign education among the Japanese. § 296. Indemnity reduced to one million and a half dollars. § 297. Ratification of a new convention and tariff. § 298. The youthful Siogoon afflicted with a complication of diseases. § 299. The daimio of Kiusiu appointed commander-of-the-forces. § 300. He leads the army against the Nagato troops. § 301. Satsuma secretly assists Chosiu to resist the Siogoon. § 302. Incident illustrative of the contending warlike factions. § 303. Rice riots among the peasants near Yedo and Yokohama. § 304. Engagements between the Siogoon's army and the disciplined force of Chosiu-Nagato. § 305. General disposition of the contending forces. § 306. Gallant action and victory of the Nagato troops. § 307. Sir Harry Parkes visits Kagosima by invitation from Satsuma. § 308. He entertains him and suite at a grand banquet. § 309. Friendly termination of the hospitalities at Kagosima.

§ 290. *Complicated relations between the Siogoon and the daimios.*—Although the exact relations between the *de facto* Government of the Siogoon, and the powerful feudal barons were, as yet, but imperfectly understood by foreigners, still sufficient was known to conclude that the former were playing a double part, to monopolize the benefits of foreign trade which the latter were anxious to participate in. It suited the purpose of the former to keep foreigners as much as possible in the background, and to represent the latter as more or less hostile to any movement opposed to the traditional policy of the country; but it was known through the agents of certain daimios that they demanded to be admitted to the benefits of foreign commerce. In reviewing the short history of Japan since the treaties came into operation, it needed no deep observer to detect the scheme of the Siogoon's Government,

to keep the representatives and merchants of foreign nations and the feudal aristocracy as far apart as possible. At Kagosima the Siogoon had a double purpose to serve, for Satsuma was the most powerful daimio in the realm, and might one day prove a dangerous rival. The result, however, was disappointing; for Satsuma and his father Shimadzoo Saburo were not humbled before the Siogoon, though they were so to the British and other Treaty Powers, at their defeat, since when they had become ardent advocates for free intercourse with foreigners. In like manner the Siogoon's Government played an ambiguous part previous to the Simanosaki expedition, in secretly urging on, if not assisting, Chosiu to resist to the uttermost the opening of the Straits to foreign traffic. No sooner, however, was the destruction of the fortifications known, and the opening of the town as a treaty port mooted, than they took the alarm and hastened to proclaim the daimio of Nagato and his house and clan rebels against both the Siogoon and the Mikado. They then notified to the Foreign Ministers that to open the port of a vassal would be inconsistent with the treaties, and transfer powers belonging to the central Government into the hands of rebels.

§ 291. *Daimio grievances against the Siogoon's Government.*—It could not be denied at this time that there were many difficulties in the way of recognizing the semi-independent rights of the eighteen feudatories possessing flourishing commercial ports, besides the question of representing and protecting foreign subjects residing in these territories. If the Treaty Powers refused to recognize the Siogoon's authority as otherwise than despotic, and claim the privileges of treating direct with the daimios, they would, of course, have had to expunge the stipulations holding him responsible for grievances that might arise at other ports than those under his jurisdiction. This would have involved an impolitic multiplication of treaties, and a costly increase to all the consular services. These considerations had due weight with the plenipotentiaries, and they discarded the informal messages from the daimios, expressing a hope that they would be admitted to the benefits of foreign trade. Satsuma, Nagato, Higo, Hizen, Awa, Etsizen, and other feudatories of the first degree, were anxiously awaiting an opportunity to declare their desire with a free and independent intercourse with foreigners. At this time—with the single exception of Satsuma, who was allowed considerable licence—

no daimio could have any transaction with a foreign merchant, shipowner, or banker, without the intervention of the officers of the Siogoon. This was the grievance of which they so bitterly complained. If a daimio wished to purchase a foreign vessel, enter into a contract for foreign machinery, or make arrangements to send some of his own officers to Europe or America, nothing could be done until the Custom-house officials were conciliated or bribed. Even the ordinary civilities and hospitalities could not be exchanged except through the medium of a Government interpreter and an *ometsky*, who acted as spies, and reported secretly to their superiors. Whenever a representative of one appeared in a foreign settlement, he was fastened on by one of these parasites, and all he said was written down in a note-book.*

§ 292. *The two contending factions pay allegiance to the Mikado.*—From this insight into the complicated relations between the *de facto* rulers and the feudal vassals of the Mikado, it will be seen that the two contending factions for supremacy in the State were in no way inclined to adopt the policy of accommodation recommended by Sir Harry Parkes. Each party still clung to its traditional policy, holding fast by the material power in their hands, knowing that whichever side gave in, their cause was doomed, and the victors would rule them with an iron hand. Both parties, however, notwithstanding their strife and bitter enmity to each other, acknowledged the Mikado, with almost a sacred allegiance, as the legitimate hereditary monarch of Japan. When, therefore, he assented to confirm the treaties, and the opening of the port of Hiogo and city of Osaka to foreigners, by which the Siogoon would reap the greatest benefit, great was the indignation of the daimios excluded from these privileges. Moreover, they calculated that it would increase the power of their opponents, as it stamped the Siogoon's acts with the Imperial seal; and some were apprehensive that, with his growing power, he or his successors might some day usurp the hereditary monarchy.

§ 293. *Foreign arms, munitions, and a man-of-war for the Japanese.*—On both sides there were general preparations for a hostile decision of their strength. It is just possible they would have come to blows at the beginning of this year, but

* Correspondent at Yokohama, in 'London and China Telegraph.'

neither party was prepared to take the field in force with a sufficient equipment of foreign arms and munitions of war. Satsuma was not satisfied with what could be obtained through foreigners at the treaty ports, but dispatched a mission to Europe, ostensibly for peaceful purposes, though in reality to make arrangements for the shipment of war *matériel*. The party consisted of two officers of high rank, an interpreter and eleven young men of good family and education, who were to remain in England for some years, in order to acquire a knowledge of the English language and an insight into literature, arts, and sciences. The three elder members of this mission visited all the arsenals in Great Britain and France, and collected men and munitions necessary for the establishment of a great arsenal in Japan, when they returned at the beginning of the year. On the other hand, the Siogoon and his Government saw the necessity of not only equipping their land-forces after the European model, but forming a navy of ships of war built for the purpose, instead of converted merchantmen. Accordingly they ordered, through the envoy from the United States, a vessel of a suitable kind to be built at New York, giving him a *carte blanche* as to the cost, and to spare no expense on its construction. The result was the arrival at Yokohama on the 23rd of January, 1866, of the corvette 'Fusi Yama,' a ship of about 1000 tons, with an armament of 12 guns, consisting of four 9-inch Dahlgrens, four brass howitzers, three 30-lb. and one 100-lb. Parrot guns. After inspection and trial the Japanese Government refused to receive it, and sent some agents to America to represent the matter to the United States Government.

§ 294. *Abrogation of the ancient edict prohibiting natives of Japan leaving the country.*—Hitherto we have seen the departure from Japan of natives contrary to the decree of *Gonjen Sama*, otherwise *Iyeyas*, the first Siogoon, which punished with death any person attempting to do so. But the strict letter of the law was over-ridden in these cases, as the individuals were sent under authority either of the Government, or the powerful family of Shimadzoo. Perhaps it was the mission in the latter instance which caused the ancient edict to be abrogated, as other daimios, not so licensed as Satsuma, wished to avail themselves also of the privilege. Be that as it may, the Government, with the sanction of the Siogoon and Mikado, proclaimed

that the restrictions which hitherto prevented the people from visiting other countries was now entirely withdrawn. The following is a translation of the decree:—"Persons wishing to go in future to any of the various countries beyond the sea for the purpose of learning any science or art, or for objects of trade, will receive permission from the Government on making application to that effect. The Government will, upon examination, grant a permit, with seal attached, to any such person. Let, therefore, the application be made out, giving the name of the petitioner, and stating clearly how he wishes to proceed, for what object, and to what country he intends to go. Retainers of daimios and hatamotos should make their application through their masters. Peasants and citizens through the governor or rent-collector of their locality, or through the lord of the domain, to the proper department. In case any person should go abroad secretly without a passport, he shall be severely punished. Therefore let everybody understand and observe this regulation. The above decree having been issued, it is to be circulated and made known to every one, even to the ordinary people, in order that those who wish to go may make the application. May 23rd, 1866." This cannot be considered an entire abrogation of the restrictions in force; but passports were freely granted to applicants, not only among students and traders, but troups of play-actors and jugglers obtained them and performed in Europe and America; proving that the boon was in reality within the reach of all classes of the people. This important step, extending the liberty of the Japanese subject, may be considered the precursor of those enlightened movements in the progress of civilization which renders the annals of "New Japan" unexampled in the history of the world.

§ 295. *Commencement of foreign education among the Japanese.*—About this time a movement was commenced by the authorities to establish schools taught by foreign schoolmasters, under the supervision of the respective governors, both in Yokohama and Nagasaki, for the special instruction of the sons of the upper classes. The school at the former settlement made rapid progress. In a short time it numbered upwards of fifty pupils; all the young men belonged to families of the official class, and were sent thither by the desire and sanction of the Government, if not paying the school fees. These

scholars were all taught the English language, grammar, arithmetic, composition, and several branches of the sciences and arts. The books given them to read were all on truthful subjects, which they perused with avidity when able to do so, and commented on them in the classes and conversation. In addition to this Government school, as it might be called, some of the Protestant Missionaries and their wives had classes of boys under instruction in English, and with much success. It is worthy of note, also, to mark here the beginning of religious toleration. The location of three or four branches of the Protestant Church at Yokohama was quite well understood by the Japanese. In previous years it was customary for the authorities to send officers to the houses of these missionaries, outwardly as friends paying friendly visits, but really as spies. These visits were in this year discontinued, and from suspicion, the demeanour of any official calling at the mission houses had changed to that of entire confidence in the teachings of the missionaries. Besides the English school at Yokohama, there was one for tuition in French and its collateral knowledge, in the suburbs, under Government patronage. These rudimentary seminaries were shortly afterwards supplemented by the erection of a building in Yedo, where a hundred young men of the upper class were taught in two departments, one English and the other French, by competent foreign masters and native assistants. As to the restrictions and penal decrees against people attending places for the worship of the Christian religion, or becoming converts, the decrees continued in force, and were in several instances carried out against the native Christians at Nagasaki and Simbara.

§ 296. *Indemnity reduced one-half and paid in three instalments.*—During the first six months of this year, the four Plenipotentiaries and the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs were diplomatically engaged in the all-important indemnity question, the terms of the new convention and tariff, agreed upon at the conferences on board the allied squadron off Hiogo-Osaka. First with regard to the indemnity money, the original demand of three million dollars was reduced to one-half that sum, in consequence of the ready manner in which the Gorojio accepted the new tariff and ratified the convention. One-third of that amount was paid on the 26th of August, in 1865, and the other two-thirds were delivered, respectively, on the 8th of

January and 18th of May this year. As to its distribution among the Four Powers of Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and the United States, it is only worth recording that the last-named Power got the largest share, although it did the smaller part of the work that brought this matter to an issue. Of course it was no part of British policy to insist on a money indemnity where the extension of her commerce at new ports was of greater importance. But it was a just grievance of the British merchants at the treaty ports, who transacted six-sevenths of the trade, that the rate of exchange of which they were "squeezed," was the chief source from whence the dollars came that paid the indemnity.

§ 297. *Ratification of the new convention and tariff.*—It is no exaggeration to remark that the new convention and tariff entered into this year was of equal, if not greater, importance than the original European treaties. Not to be censorious, it may be said that the latter were loosely worded, and some of the stipulations were not suited to the circumstances of Japan, while others were omitted of greater moment than those named in the leading clauses; simply, we infer, because the high-contracting parties were to a great extent ignorant of each other's policy. Eight years had elapsed by this time when the new convention came under discussion, and how much more both parties were enlightened on each other's policy these pages can bear testimony. From the tenor of its articles there is evidence to show that the Plenipotentiaries were resolved to make it a conclusive and binding agreement; and it is only just to the Gorojio—a council which no longer exists—that they did their part liberally and equitably. It is a long document, but there is no space for details. Suffice it to say here that among its salient clauses, the Government yielded to the necessity of establishing the bonded warehouse system. This virtually made the open ports *entrepôts*, where merchandise could be stored without the immediate payments of duties, intended for transit. The ground of complaint against the restrictions on daimios trading with foreigners was removed; and not only they, but any Japanese trader, could trade freely at the treaty ports, or in any port in the world, without the interference of Government officials. There were twelve articles, the last of which provided that it was unnecessary it should be submitted to the respective Governments for ratification before it came into operation. It

was signed on the 25th of June, and took effect on the 1st of July—thus avoiding all the procrastination and tergiversation which worried the treaty diplomatists. The tariff attached to this convention superseded all previous tariffs under the respective treaties. It was also incorporated from the date of its signature in these, and subject to revision on the 1st day of July, 1872. That date has passed away without any alteration having been made, although it was the chief object of the Iwakura embassy to effect. Consequently, its stipulations remain in force to this time (1873), seven years after it was concluded, and added to the term of the first treaty with America, twenty years since "New Japan" was opened.

§ 298. *The youthful Siogoon afflicted with a complication of diseases.*—Having disposed of these foreign affairs in a satisfactory manner, the Siogoon's Government turned their whole attention to the rectification of home affairs, and the further consolidation of their rule. In accomplishing the former, and striving to do so with the latter, the leading statesman was Midzuno Idzumi *no-kami*, chief member of the Gorojio or Council of State. He was of courteous manners and liberal political principles, which inclined favourably towards foreigners. The young Siogoon placed great reliance on his advice in the conduct of public affairs, and was imbued with the same progressive policy. However, he was a youth of weakly constitution, and unable to undertake vigorous action in suppressing the incipient rebellion that was undermining his power. He was afflicted with heart disease, besides a tendency to dropsy, and had suffered much from rheumatism. In this state of bodily suffering he was the last personage to perform the duties of the Mikado's generalissimo, in commanding the Imperial forces. Nevertheless, he filled the post with credit, under the guidance of his Council of State, and being brother-in-law of the hereditary sovereign, was looked up to as the legitimate head of the *de facto* Government, by his adherents among the nobility. On the other hand, their opponents, such as Chosiu of Nagato, and Shimadzoo of Satsuma, treated the youth as incapable, and his power as Siogoon no longer necessary in the executive government of the realm. They saw in their investigations into the monarchies of Europe that this binary system of rule was incongruous and arbitrary, especially where the inferior ruler was the *de facto* sovereign. Accordingly the

behests of Iyemochi to bring the so-called rebellious daimio Chosiu to account for his backslidings, were treated by him and his family—who considered themselves the ancient patriots of Japan—with contempt.

§ 299. *The daimio of Kiusiu appointed commander of the forces.*—Seeing that the Siogoon was not fit to take the field at the head of the Imperial troops his responsible advisers saw the necessity of maintaining his prestige of two centuries' standing by appointing a substitute. This was done in the person of the daimio of Kiusiu, a relative of Iyemochi, belonging to one of the three families, from one of which the Siogoons were selected by the Mikado. The following literal translation of a Japanese letter from the seat of war conveys in substance the position of the belligerents:—"Kioto, 8th of July, 1866. The punishment of that thief Chosiu for his repeated acts of rebellion has at last been decreed. The daimio of Kiusiu, as Commander-in-Chief, has already started, and Matsdaira Hoki *no-kami*, as his lieutenant, sails this morning. Kiogoku Shiuzen *no-sho* has been appointed Inspector-General of the *Shikoku* contingent, and will start to-morrow. The fifth of next month (July 16th) is appointed for the commencement of hostilities by the united contingents of the *Fudai* daimios (of inferior grade). Chosiu is determined to fight to the last, but I do not think him likely to have the best of it. However, he has brought it on himself. As the war progresses I will send you more news."

§ 300. *The daimio of Kiusiu in command of the army against Chosiu.*—Previous to the movement reported in the foregoing authentic letter from an officer in the army, the Siogoon's Government had sent an *ultimatum* to Chosiu, demanding his submission, and that of his son the daimio of Nagato, upon terms that would have deprived the ancient clan of Mowori of a large part of their territory, and disgraced the memory of the proudest and most patriotic feudatory in Japan. Of course the demand was spurned with contemptuous silence, and the valiant retainers buckled on their armour to maintain their position by force of arms, either defensive or offensive. However, in accordance with the fictitious policy of Japan, his *karos* or head councillors agreed, or rather pretended to agree, to an amicable settlement of the question; but this was ultimately ignored when the forces of Nagato actually crossed the frontier

and threatened Kioto. At that time the Imperial capital was garrisoned by troops from Yedo, under command of Yoshi Hisa, son of the old daimio Mito, one of the families from whom the Siogoons were chosen, and who held the post of chief minister, under the title of *Stots-bashi*, signifying "One Bridge." There was such a strong feeling against this Yedo army at Kioto, that the merchants of Osaka were anxious to witness their departure. The invalid Siogoon remained at his castle in the latter city, afraid of even going with the army; but he communicated with the daimio of Etsizen, to give him advice and assistance at this important juncture of affairs, when the ancient titular power of the Siogoons, instituted by Iyeyas, the valiant *Gongen Sama*, upwards of two centuries before, was trembling in the balance.

§ 301. *Satsuma surreptitiously assists Chosiu to resist the Siogoon.*—In this emergency the chief daimios of the western peninsula refrained from taking an active part, most of them remaining neutral in that rich territory as well as on the Islands of Sikok and Kiusiu, although the titular daimio of the latter island commanded the forces against Nagato. A curious instance of this sympathy between the Southern Feudatories and their valiant *confrères* was exemplified in a munificent contribution to the "Rebel," by Satsuma, showing the strange policy of tergiversation hitherto prevalent in Japan. Apparently that policy was the extreme of Machiavelianism and worthy of the cunning Italian diplomatist himself. Instead of sending supplies or money to assist his colleague in secret, he, or his councillors, sent a statement to the Siogoon's Government, of which the following is a translation:—"Some years ago, on the occasion of a bad harvest in my dominions, I borrowed three million bags of rice from Chosiu. The said person has now fallen under your displeasure, and must suffer much inconvenience. I wish therefore to purchase in all the ports and harbours, and convenient places, three million bags of rice to return his kindness with. This report is therefore made." It did not transpire what reply was given to this, or whether Satsuma purchased an extra quantity of rice, but it was illustrative of old Japanese diplomacy, and the ancient bond of union among the feudal daimios, who would assist each other against a common enemy, even though he was *de facto* sovereign.

§ 302. *Incident illustrative of the contending warlike factions.*—It may be inferred from what has been recorded that the populace held aloof from these momentous dissensions in the State. To a certain extent, no doubt, they were prohibited from taking either one side or the other in the great national struggle for supremacy that was going on, simply because they were held as nothing in the balance—merely serfs who had to obey their superiors under any despotic authority. Nevertheless, the hostile movements of the contending parties were bruited throughout the realm, and the sides of the two factions were espoused by the people in every province. In illustration of this feeling an incident occurred at a village named Lagami, near the ancient city of Kioto, which showed how strong the rivalry and ill-feeling existing between the Siogoon Iyemochi and the great daimio Chosiu was reflected in the minds of the populace. Some farmers' sons, to the number of nearly a hundred, had assembled for play, and it was proposed by one of them that they should form themselves into two bands, one to represent the Siogoon's army and the other that of Chosiu. The proposition was agreed upon by them; and as we have seen boys in our own country "playing at soldiers," which has ended in serious damage to their clothes and persons, so it was in this instance, but with more fatal result. "What commenced in play ended in earnest, for some of the lads became so excited that it was well they had no deadly weapons in their hands. One boy of the Siogoon party unhappily had a knife upon him, and drawing it, rushed upon the leading boy of the Chosiu party, drew it, stabbed and cut him in such a manner, that he died upon the spot. Of course the boy whose excitement had carried him so far, when his blood cooled, was extremely sorry for the crime he had committed and the death of his schoolfellow. He was taken in charge, put in prison, but what was his punishment did not transpire." *

§ 303. *Rice riots among the peasants near Yedo and Yokohama.*—Among the lowest class of the people the altered state of affairs, in consequence of the innovation of foreign relations, began to take effect, and that in a riotous manner hitherto almost unknown. In the vicinity of Kanagawa a large band of peasants, chiefly engaged in the Koshi districts, being irritated

* Report in the 'Japan Herald.'

by the high price of rice, and the heavy inland excise duty imposed upon silk—about five pounds per bale—came down in a body and destroyed the exchange where the silk merchants took up their residence when in town. They were armed chiefly with flails, sticks, bamboos, and agricultural implements, having among them a few men on horseback, and some with swords. The militia of the district, being called out and armed in European style, quickly repulsed the rioters. "Subsequently a daimio and two hatamotos from Yedo, with a body of troops, went in pursuit, and, meeting them, killed and wounded about three hundred, and took double that number prisoners. The remnant who escaped are now scattered over the hills of Kanagawa and Kawasaki. They descend in small parties at night upon the villages on the To-kai-do, whence they take what they require of the necessaries of life, retiring at cock-crow to their hiding-places in the woods and hills, where they lie concealed all day."*

§ 304. *Engagements between the Siogoon's army and that of Chosiu.*—At the close of July hostilities commenced between the belligerents. On the 4th of August intelligence reached Yokohama from Osaka to the effect that in three engagements the troops of the Siogoon had prevailed against those of Chosiu. "The scene of action was Oshimagoori, in the province of Soowo, one of the two provinces composing the estate of Mori. The troops engaged on the side of the Siogoon were 5000 or 6000 men, under command of Matz Daira Oki *no-kami*, and some infantry and artillery (about 1200) drilled in the European style. Oshimagoori is near the sea, so much so that it was stated the 'Fusi Yama' (American built man-of-war) took part in the engagements with good effect. In the third engagement Takakibara and Tachibono (inferior daimios) commenced the attack. The Matchi Oshimagoori was taken, and after the triple success, the Siogoon's troops marched as far as Iwakonie. Chosiu and his eldest son, the daimio of Nagato, remained in their stronghold at Yamagatchi during the engagements, and the castle was fortified in European style."† After these attacks on the land defences of Nagato, the squadron of the Siogoon, consisting of the 'Fusi Yama' and converted merchant steamers, lay off Simanosaki, and landed

* Report in the 'Japan Herald.' † Ibid.

troops without any collision. On the other hand, Chosiu's forces made an attack on the opposite side of the straits, where they were repulsed by the retainers of the daimio of Tsikuzen, while the Siogoon's squadron destroyed two of Chosiu's ships. In consequence of the constant firing across the strait, and the blockade of Simanosaki, the Gorejio requested the foreign Ministers to proclaim the closing of the "Inland Sea" until the war was over and the blockade raised; which was agreed to by the envoys, so far that no foreign ship was allowed to cast anchor in the Suwo Nada.

§ 305. *General disposition of the contending forces.*—Instead of being subdued by these defeats at the beginning of the campaign, the courageous Chosiu and his followers returned to the combat with renewed energy. Though he was assisted in means, if not men, by Satsuma, yet he was fighting the Siogoon's army single-handed. He had no allies, and boldly declared he would fight to the death. It was not known whether he had any foreign adventurers in his service accustomed to warfare, such as most of the officers in the Chinese disciplined force were; but there were reasons for concluding as much, from the tactics he pursued in the disposition of his men, something after the European system. Be that as it may, he concentrated his forces secretly and rapidly at those points where his enemy was weakest, contrary to the ancient Japanese military custom. For example, the Siogoon's commander-in-chief would send a thousand men to a particular point, meaning to reinforce them in a few days; and Chosiu, if he intended to attack that battalion, should do so with no more than the same number of troops, giving due notice of their approach, and then have a fair fight, similar to the combats between the old Highland clans. Instead of this he would dispatch three or four times that number secretly, pouncing down upon the surprised encampment, and routing them with great slaughter. On the other hand, the Siogoon's forces, instead of being concentrated, so as to strike one great and decisive blow, were divided into small detachments, with a view to engage the enemy at several points. Both of the belligerents laboured under the disadvantage of being short of funds to pay for munitions of war, food for the men, and their conveyance to the field. In this respect, Chosiu being in his own territory, felt the want least, while the Siogoon had to send shot, shell, and rice from Osaka

two hundred and fifty miles distant from the seat of war, mostly by sea, but partly overland.

§ 306. *Gallant action and victory of Chosiu's forces at Kokura.* —Among the adherents of the Siogoon was a relative of the daimio of Buzen, a member of the Gorojio, whose superior possessed the territory on the opposite coast to Nagato, including the southern peninsula forming that shore of Simanosaki Strait. He belonged to the O-ngasa-warri family, whose united revenues amounted to about two hundred thousand pounds. A force of three thousand men were placed under his command at the town of Kokura, and other larger bodies of armed retainers were in Buzen under two partizans of the Siogoon, prepared to make a descent on the territory of Nagato. Chosiu's spies reported the intended movement to him, and he resolved to forestall his opponents by making a sudden attack upon them. He made his preparations secretly, and had a large steamer called the 'Otento-sama,' ready at a moment's notice to convey troops across the Suwo Sea. It so happened that the British steamer 'Kestrel,' formerly a gunboat, entered these waters on the evening of the 10th of August, to procure coals. Just before midnight those on board observed Chosiu's steamer get up steam, while a considerable number of armed men flocked on deck, besides crowding into a large Japanese-built craft. She then heaved anchor, and taking the latter in tow, steamed at full speed across the narrow strait. Having landed the soldiery near the town of Kokura, she returned with the transport junk, took a second body of troops on board, and speedily crossed over, landing them at the same place, off which she anchored. The united force then marched on Kokura, a large number armed with rifles, and drawing a battery of field-pieces. They then bombarded the town, setting it on fire with shells, after which the whole rushed into them double-quick time, taking the garrison under O-ngasa-wari by surprise. His men, however, made a gallant defence both with their small arms, and a battery of foreign ordnance; but they were unable to resist the fierce onslaught of the Nagato men. A panic ensued, and they fled in confusion, leaving seven new Blakely field-pieces as trophies for the victors. Securing these, the latter returned to their ships, and crossed to their own territory, without much loss in killed and wounded. So promptly was this gallant action executed that in four hours or so, from the time

of starting, the last detachment was on board ship in Simanosaki anchorage. Not only was the town laid in ashes, but an arsenal for the manufacture of war munitions was destroyed, thereby inflicting a severe blow on the warlike resources of the nearest opponent threatening Nagato. When the 'Kestrel' came out of Simanosaki harbour she was fired upon by a battery, not silenced, on the Kokura side, though she hoisted the British ensign; but it was considered to have been done by mistake, the gunners taking her to be one of Chosiu's steamers; and, as no damage was sustained, no notice was taken of the matter by Sir Harry Parkes. At the same time, as it was reported that some foreign vessels were employed occasionally by the belligerents, he issued notifications forbidding British ships to carry Japanese troops, arms, or munitions of war through the Strait or in the Suwo Sea, or indeed to stop there at all, as the 'Kestrel' had done, in making the passage. In order that these notifications should not be infringed, the Admiral detailed a gun-boat to keep a watch on ships passing either into or out of the Inland Sea.

§ 307. *Sir Harry Parkes, by invitation from Satsuma, visits Kagosima.*—Shortly before these events transpired, Sir Harry Parkes had been in friendly communication with the powerful daimio of Satsuma, who politely invited him to pay a visit to that famous feudatory at Kagosima. If only on personal grounds and a desire to see that interesting scene of the British bombardment, His Excellency would have been justified in accepting the invitation; but he had higher motives in doing so, as Minister for the United Kingdom, whereby he would be on amicable political terms with the most powerful vassal of the Mikado. Accordingly, he and Lady Parkes, with suite, repaired to Nagasaki, where H.M.S. 'Salamis' was placed at their disposal by Admiral King, who accompanied them himself in his flag-ship, the 'Princess Royal,' and the 'Serpent' corvette. On the afternoon of the 26th of July, the three vessels were anchored within eight or nine miles of the town of Kagosima, where, just about three years before, Admiral Kuper anchored his squadron. Times had changed since then from a hostile invasion to a friendly invitation. At two o'clock the ships steamed up in line, and anchored close to the batteries. No sooner had the anchors been let go, than up went the British flag on a staff in the principal battery, and a salute of fifteen

guns was fired with precision. This was at once returned by the flag-ship. Then the ships ran up the Japanese national flag, which got nineteen guns, and was repeated on shore, gun for gun. After this, several of the *karos*, or councillors of the feudatory, came on board, and a large party from the ships went on shore, including the Envoy and Admiral. They were attended by a strong guard of armed officials, more for honour than protection, as they were everywhere greeted with smiles and kindly speeches. In their ramble through the town no traces of the destructive effects of the bombardment were visible, and they returned on board without seeing a scowling face or hearing a rude cry, as the inhabitants of Yedo greeted foreigners.

§ 308. *Satsuma entertains his visitors at a grand banquet.*—Next day, about eleven, the great daimio's state barge came alongside the flag-ship, with Satsuma and his father Shimadzoo Saburo and their suite. As they stepped on board the yards were manned, a guard of honour saluted them, while the band played. When he ascended the poop and shook hands with Sir Harry and the Admiral, a salute was fired in his honour, which he watched with interest. His features were of the pure Japanese type, having the upward slanting line of the eyelids, derived from their Chinese blood, and which is considered a mark of beauty both in males and females. He was tall and well-formed, carrying himself with great dignity and princely demeanour. His father was a shorter man and thick-set, not so urbane in his manner, with more indication of excessive pride, but still with a similar noble bearing to that of his son. Immediately the firing on board ceased, the young daimio turned with a smile to the side of the ship to look at his own battery, which was returning the salute by a smart, well-timed fire. Satsuma then descended to the Admiral's cabin, and, after inviting seventeen to a banquet at his palace, returned on shore. This building faced the bay, with a marine parade mounting twelve brass field-pieces, which saluted the British Minister as he landed. He and the Admiral then proceeded with interpreter Siebold to an inner chamber, where Satsuma and his father gave them a formal but friendly reception, expressing the hope that old enmities would be cast into oblivion, and that for the future the two powers of Great Britain and Japan would live on terms of mutual amity. Then all the party were ushered into the banquet-hall, where

forty-five covers were laid. The courses were of the most *recherché* native *cuisine*, accompanied with champagne and other foreign wines. For five hours the company continued eating and drinking, pledging each other, talking and laughing, while a native band played and sung for an hour during the repast. After this the party went to view the gardens, which were laid out to perfection after the Japanese style, and blooming with flowers. In front of the palace beautiful tents were pitched for the guests' accommodation, with fruit, cake, and wine; while two hundred troops were being drilled on the parade-ground below. After bidding adieu to their kind hosts, the party returned on board highly delighted.

§ 309. *Friendly termination of the hospitalities at Kagosima.*—On the following day the naval officers were shown over the arsenal, and entertained at dinner in the European style by the five younger brothers of Satsuma, who were singularly engaging youths. They visited the flag-ship on the third day with Satsuma, when she was swung round broadside on to the bay, and for several hours fired shot and shell at floating targets, the gunners making excellent practice; after which they discharged three 24-lb. rockets, to the astonishment of the Japanese afloat and ashore. The fourth day, detachments of marines and blue-jackets with artillery went through various evolutions on the drill-ground. These were wound up by a grand hunt in a neighbouring forest, full of deer and wild boar, with monkeys in the trees; the party bagging seven fine stags, and four large-tusked boars. Sir Harry and Lady Parkes took their departure in the 'Salamis' for Nagasaki, their hosts bidding them farewell with some degree of emotion, especially the old father, Shimadzoo Saburo, whose retainers murdered Richardson, which was the chief cause of the bombardment of Kagosima. The 'Princess Royal' and 'Serpent' returned to Yokohama, the parting of all exhibiting the most friendly relations between them. One of the visitors, describing it, wrote, "The feeling of regret at parting was, I am sure, reciprocated by our Japanese friends; and I conclude with expressing my conviction that Sir Harry Parkes did a wise thing in going to Kagosima, and I believe he left it with a very different opinion of Satsuma to that which he had before. This daimio is decidedly among the most enlightened and liberal-minded Japanese now living, and his intelligence and

the good use he has lately been making of his resources will most certainly soon place him—and the sooner the better for all mercantile men at the treaty ports—in a distinctly leading position among the nobles of Japan."* This opinion was subsequently verified.

* A correspondent in the 'Japan Herald.'

CHAPTER XVIII.

1866 (CONTINUED).

DEATH OF THE SIOGOON IYEMOCHI AND ELECTION OF STOTS-BASHI (YOSHI-HISA) — NAGATO FORCES INVADE BUZEN AND HOLD IT — ARMISTICE — FIRE AT YOKOHAMA — PROGRESS OF PORTS.

§ 310. Genealogy of the Shimadzoo family, the feudal daimios of Satsuma. § 311. Demise of the Siogoon Iyemochi, from severe bodily ailments and mental afflictions, at the age of twenty-one. § 312. Ceremonials on the occasion, and election of his successor. § 313. Curious notification of the authorities at Yedo to the inhabitants. § 314. An armistice proclaimed until the burial of Iyemochi. § 315. The new Siogoon a daimio of the great family of Mito. § 316. The Nagato forces invade Buzen, beating the army; Chosiu, master of the situation, dictates terms of peace. § 317. Superior equipment and drill of the Nagato forces to the Siogoon's army. § 318. Extensive and destructive fire in the settlement of Yokohama, and dreadful loss of native lives. § 319. Area of the conflagration and extent of property destroyed. § 320. Relief of the destitute Japanese by the authorities and foreigners. § 321. Fluctuations in money and commerce at Yokohama. § 322. General state of affairs at Nagasaki during the year. § 323. Desecration of aboriginal graves near Hakodadi by three Englishmen. § 324. How this affair ended in the punishment of the offenders and compensation to the aggrieved.

§ 310. *Genealogy of the Shimadzoo family, the feudal daimios of Satsuma.**—This is an appropriate place to furnish a brief sketch of the origin and descent of the Shimadzoo family, from whom the young princely daimio of Satsuma, his stern father Saburo, and his engaging youthful brothers, were descended. The annals of the daimios of this great sept are not by any means so interesting as those of the warlike Nagato chieftain and their clan, because they never had much feud or quarrelling with other daimios. This brief sketch, therefore, assumes the form rather of a genealogical descent than of a stirring historical recital. About seven centuries ago the House of Satsuma was founded by one of the sons of Yorito-mo, one of the greatest

* The data from the 'Japan Herald,' and other authentic sources.

monarchs in the history of Japan, whose deeds have been recorded with renown. This son's name was Shimadzoo Todahisa Bengo *no-kami*, from whence the family name was derived —it being the first written, as is the custom both in China and Japan. When he was enrolled as a daimio by his father, he belonged to the petty class or feudal daimios; but his successors gradually increased in wealth and power, until the fifteenth descendant became the head of the greatest noble house in the realm. This daimio was named Shimadzoo Shirino *no Daiboo*, and acquired the three large feudal territories of Sat-suma, O-suma, and Fiu-ga. He was succeeded by a son of more warlike disposition than his father or ancestors; and not being content with rich possessions to which he became heir, his ambition was to increase them by force of arms. As these lands lie in the extreme south of the Japanese Islands, he turned his ambitious gaze to the Loo Choo Islands, which lie farther to the south, forming a chain of isles conterminous with Kiusin, and the three feudatories mentioned. He fitted out an expedition, and made a descent on the great island of the group, easily overcame the less warlike inhabitants, subjugated their rulers, and established a feudal system somewhat after the Japanese model; so from that time up to the year 1860 they were under the jurisdiction of, and paid tribute to, the daimios of Satsuma. At this period the renowned Siogoon, of the titular appellation of Taiko Sama was in power; and on being informed of the successful raid of this ambitious vassal on the Loo Chop Islands, he dispatched some envoys to open up negotiations as to his share of the tribute. Shimadzoo Shirino refused to treat with the envoys. This so exasperated Taiko Sama, that he declared war against the contumacious daimio; sent a large contingent of the Imperial army into O-suma and Fiu-zen, and captured these territories. Satsuma, fearing lest he should be deprived of all his possessions, gave in his submission to the Siogoon. Seeing him thus humbled, that stern generalissimo deposed him from his damioship; and ordered that he and his eldest son, who would have succeeded to it, should be immured for life in a Buddhist monastery, as priests, with shaven heads, and clad in ecclesiastical garments. Having done this, Taiko Sama magnanimously installed the grandson of Shirino as daimio of Satsuma, and restored the two captured territories to other members of the Shimadzoo family. This young noble

appears to have been worthy of the high position in which he was placed, for he was promoted to offices in the state by Taiko Sama and his successor in the Siogoonship. He was known successively by several titular names, the last and highest being Yinsan mi Chuno-goon Iye-hisa. For eight generations there does not appear to have been a single incident calling for prominent record in the annals of Satsuma. The last daimio was a descendant of the baron in the ninth generation named Jiusanmi Chugo Satsuma *no-kami*; and was only remarkable for his numerous children, through the intermarriages of whom he formed alliances with the greatest daimios in the realm. But his father Saburo was not descended from the elder branch of the family, his predecessor of that stock dying without a male heir, having adopted him, he being the son of a younger brother. He had, however, an only daughter, to whom he was tenderly attached, and she espoused the Siogoon, who died mysteriously, at the time Lord Elgin was negotiating the treaty in 1858. Her name was Tensho-en, reputed to be handsome, young, and accomplished—being fond of literature, an excellent horsewoman, and skilled in the use of arms. At the sudden death of her husband—who was said to have been poisoned—she retired into the secluded apartments of the castle at Yedo, cut her hair short in token of her grief, and mourned his loss for many years. To complete this brief sketch, which applies to the house of Satsuma before the revolution in 1868, it only remains to state, that the registered revenues from the domains in Kiusiu and Loo Choo were put down at 770,800 *kokoos*, equivalent to 578,000*l*.; but this was under the mark, as the returns from the metalliferous mines were large, and only a small yield included in these returns, so that the real income was not less than three-quarters of a million sterling. The population on the Japanese territories we have no data for estimating, but it was stated that the Siogoon could raise an army of 40,000 men if necessary. The number of inhabitants in Loo Choo has been estimated variously at from 150,000 to 200,000; but they were exempt from any conscription for the Imperial army of Japan.

§ 311. *Demise of the Siogoon Iyemochi, from severe bodily ailments and mental affliction, at the age of twenty-one.*—While the princely damio of Satsuma was thus, in the plenitude of his power, wealth, and health, dispensing his hospitality, and fraternizing with the representative of his quondam British

enemies, the wretched, sickly Siogoon Minamoto Iyemochi lay upon his deathbed, severely afflicted in body and mind, at his castle in the city of Osaka. It has been recorded in the previous chapter how he went forth from Yedo in July, 1865, with all the pomp and panoply of war, resolved to lead on the Imperial army for the subjugation of the rebellious Chosiu, his son the daimio of Nagato, and their warlike adherents. As it has been stated, even at that time he was suffering from a painful complication of diseases, which became aggravated in intensity during his journey southwards, so that he was incapacitated to take command of the army as generalissimo. Besides occasional attacks of rheumatism, he suffered from disease of the heart, and a dropsical affection, named *ka-kee* by the native doctors, and prevalent in Japan. These practitioners were unable to arrest the progress of the invalid's complaints; and his sufferings were increased by the reports brought to him of the non-success of his army after the first brush of the campaign. The reflection that he could not maintain the valiant *prestige* of a long line of Siogoons preyed upon his mind, and accelerated his demise, but the immediate cause of that was organic lesion of the heart. As every effort and all the skill of the native physicians had no beneficial effect, the chief member of his household called in the services of Dr. Bauduin, a Dutch physician, and Superintendent of the Medical College at Nagasaki. He arrived at Osaka on the 2nd of September, but found that he was too late to be of any use, as the Siogoon had died several days previously. He was only twenty-one years of age; and it is not surprising that with such accumulating infirmities and limited experience, after emerging from the hands of the regency a short time before, he was unequal to execute the duties of generalissimo during unusually troublous times.

§ 312. *Ceremonials on the demise of the Siogoon and election of his successor.*—It will be remembered that on the death of his predecessor the Government kept the event a profound secret for some six weeks, during which time they informed the British and French Envoys that he lay sick and could not give them an audience. The same custom was pursued in this instance, though it was given out officially several months prior to Minamoto Iyemochi's demise that he was sick, which of course was the fact. It was stated on good authority that the suffering patient had expressed a wish to abdicate and

retire into private life, but, being son-in-law to the Mikado, his advisers saw the policy of retaining him nominally in power with a view to overawe the rebellious daimios, who were loyal to their sovereign. When it was seen there was no chance of his recovery, the members of his Government and some Ministers from Kioto held a council in the death-chamber to hear his last behests as to his successor. Without hesitation he named Yoshi Hisa, the Stots-Bashi, or chief councillor, who was present—of whom more anon. The usual course then was taken. The Gorojio unanimously elected him, and sent in their recommendation to the Mikado, who approved of their choice, which was reported to the new Siogoon, and he was confirmed in office. He then formally apprised the Council of State of his appointment, and they forthwith issued a decree making it known to the nobles and people. A translation of it is given below, as an illustration of Japanese ceremonials which never will occur again. Before, however, this document was published, the remains of the deceased Siogoon were removed to Yedo, in the British steamer 'Dumbarton,' which had just been purchased by the Government. These were accompanied by the members of the Great Council, and the newly elected Siogoon, who took up his abode in the castle, and condoled with his predecessor's widow.

§ 313. *Curious notification of the authorities at Yedo to the inhabitants on the occasion.*—Immediately the new Siogoon and Government were installed in the capital they lost not an hour in issuing their official notification of what had transpired, and the Governor circulated curious regulations to be observed the occasion. It will be noticed that in these documents both the deceased and living Siogoon have different names from those already given, but they were merely titular appellations added to their family and personal names to denote their official reign. The following translation appeared in the 'Japan Times,' a rival of the 'Japan Herald:' "Kubo Sama having fallen sick, and the remedies used having failed of success, he departed this life at Osaka, on the 29th August, at six o'clock in the morning. All building, and use of musical instruments are, therefore, prohibited. Stotsbashi Chioonagon, who had previously been appointed successor, is from the 28th of August styled Uye-Sama. This decree having been issued you will take note thereof, and communicate it to all house-

holders without exception. Given at the Government Office, Tobe." "In consequence of the prohibition thus decreed, the ward-gates will be shut from six o'clock in the evening, and the side gates will be left open for passengers. The *Nannshi* and landlords will patrol day and night. In unoccupied places, and where there are no ward-gates, such are to be provided at once. In all the streets the shop-curtains are to be taken down, the shutters on the left and right to be let down, and perfect order to be kept. In the streets held of the Government, water-buckets, in numbers corresponding to the length of frontage, are to be placed before the houses. Bath-houses, medical and ordinary, buckwheat shops and other places where business requiring large fires is carried on, must close at six o'clock in the evening. Fights, quarrels, and other noisy proceedings, must be carefully avoided. The above orders having been issued, you are requested to affix your seal in acknowledgment, and return the circular after it has gone round.—October 5th, 6 P.M." From the precautions to be taken in carrying these orders into effect, it would seem to imply that the authorities were apprehensive of some disturbance, among the disaffected populace, or the rowdy ronins who infested Yedo, while the garrison was small in consequence of the regular troops joining the army in the south.

§ 314. *An armistice proclaimed until the burial of Iyemochi.* —Besides these notifications to the inhabitants of Yedo, a decree was promulgated by the Mikado, ordering a cessation of hostilities until the remains of his son-in-law were interred with all due honour. Not only was this mandate obeyed by the officers and privates of the Imperial army, and the daimios with their retainers as allies, but Chosiu himself and his adherents agreed to the armistice. He declared he had never fought against the Mikado, or abandoned allegiance to him as his enemies alleged; but he would fight to the death against the Government and their partizans, who were endeavouring to crush him and despoil the ancient family he represented of their hereditary domains. Hostilities, therefore, remained in abeyance during the year. On the 31st of October the remains of the deceased Kubo Sama were consigned to the tomb, with every ceremonial of funereal pomp, in the great cemetery of the Siogoons, first instituted by the renowned Gongen Sama, more than two centuries ago, and where the sepulchral monuments

of his successors furnish evidence of a long line of semi-sovereigns whose power is now swept away. The obsequies occupied several days, and was conducted by both Buddhist and Sintoo high-priests, after the ceremonials of each religion, with imposing paraphernalia.

§ 315. *The new Siogoon a daimio of the great family of Mito.*—Already the name of Mito has been mentioned as a daimio of the first class, and third on the list of the great eighteen nobles. His feudal territory was Fitatsi, a rich and populous domain, including the large and flourishing city of Mito, situated about seventy miles from Yedo in a northerly direction. The family of the same name were entitled to the privilege of having one of their number elected to the Siogoonship. It may be remembered that it was a band of his retainers who assassinated the Regent Ikamo, in 1860, near his residence at Yedo, where the victim's head was thrown into the grounds, after being exposed in the town of Mito as that of a traitor. For this offence he and his eldest son were sentenced by the Mikado to "life retirement" in their own territory. However, the old daimio died, and his son was restored to power. That son is the personage named Stots Basli, or Prime Minister of the deceased Siogoon, Kubo Sama, and his successor ruling with the title of Uye Sama, but commonly called by the first title, though his real personal name was, and is, Yoshi Hisa, for he is still living (1873) in private within his own domain. Before his election, he proved himself to be an able but ambitious statesman, and was generally regarded as a determined opponent to foreign intercourse. But foreigners afterwards ascertained that he was accused in this respect wrongfully, for his own retainers sometimes played the part of janissaries, who overawed their master. A daimio frequently had but a nominal feudal power over his Samourai or Yakonins; for they were a troublesome set of fellows, and often forced their master into a course of action he himself would disapprove of, or, as in the case of Mito, commit deeds and depredations for which he had to bear the punishment. On taking the reins of government in hand, Yoshi Hisa showed that he was an able, energetic man, in all respects suited for the mixed military and executive post of a Siogoon. He is described as being dignified in his bearing, yet affable and courteous in his manners, and favourably disposed towards foreigners. Until a short time before his elevation,

he and Satsuma were on friendly terms, both being desirous of introducing reforms into the country. After a time the former perceived that the latter not only wanted a reformation in the State, but a fundamental dynastic change; and on this point the difference of their views was so great that a more limited intercourse was the result.

§ 316. *The Nagato forces invade Buzen—Chosiu dictates terms of peace.*—In like manner the young daimio of Nagato and his valiant father Chosiu had been overruled by their *kerai* or leading retainers. When the late Siogoon and his Government proposed terms of submission, and a day was named for these to be arranged, they agreed to do so, under a written engagement. Before that day arrived they sent a message to the envoys declaring the head men of Nagato and Suwo would not allow them to act up to the terms proposed, and they were prepared to abide the issue of the war. In this instance, however, these Japanese janissaries were more successful for their feudal masters' interests than the murderous retainers of Mito. A new expedition was organized to cross Simanosaki Strait as before, and invade the territories of Buzen and Boungo, where the commander-in-chief Kiusiu had encamped his forces in isolated detachments. The commander and officers of H.M.'s gun-boat 'Slaney' witnessed the transport of the force and its disembarkation, which was executed in a manner that would have done credit to European troops. It was observed, also, that the men were nearly all armed with muskets and Enfield rifles, and appeared to be well disciplined. Of course the British officers were prohibited from interfering in any way between the belligerents, but they could not help keeping an eye upon their movements, out of range, but sufficiently near to see some of their strategy. It was not known whether Chosiu or his son were there in person to lead on the troops, but some one appeared to have the command who understood military tactics. They soon routed the Siogoon's force in the neighbourhood of Kokura, and marched into the interior. It transpired that they were equally successful in fighting other detachments, without much loss, as they could attack them at long range. This time the victorious force did not return, but held possession of the conquered lands and towns. This successful invasion of the southern shores of the Suwo Sea, and defeat of the Siogoon's army, was accomplished before the

death of Minamoto Iyemochi. When that occurred, and an armistice was proclaimed by the Mikado, to which Nagato and his father Chosiu assented, they held these conquests, and were masters of the situation. At this juncture the Gorojio themselves officially acknowledged the defeat of their army, and showed a disposition to end the war on honourable terms. Seeing this, the daimio of Kanga, fourth on the list of the upper eighteen, with a revenue of upwards of a million *kokoo* (750,000*l.*), offered his services as mediator between the contending parties. As *amicus curiæ* he put himself in communication with Nagato and Chosiu. His overtures were entertained and acknowledged in friendly terms as between nobles whose interests were in unison. But to the Gorojio a manifesto was sent, dictating the terms on which only the victors would lay down their arms. This document commenced with a list of the engagements, the towns and villages burnt or captured, and the amount of treasure, number of guns, with munitions of war and other stores that fell into their hands. It then went on to state that the only engagement won by the Imperial troops was but a temporary success, and on their part of an inhuman character. This took place on *Usi Sima*, an island off the Suwo shore, fortified and garrisoned by the retainers of that territory under the jurisdiction of Nagato. Here two war-ships of the Siogoon bombarded the forts during five days, when they were evacuated, and taken without resistance, as only the fishermen, peasants, and their families, were left behind. These inoffensive inhabitants, the document averred, were mercilessly slaughtered by the troops, and it holds up the deed as inhuman, barbarous, and contrary to the usages of war. It then proceeded to show that these soldiers were cowards, for, on the approach of a party to relieve the place, they fled on board their ships, leaving the Nagato men in possession. Under these circumstances, the manifesto laid down the following as the terms for concluding an honourable peace:—"1. A public acknowledgment of Chosiu and Nagato's innocence of the crimes imputed to them by the Siogoon and his Government. 2. An apology from the same for having aspersed their characters before the Mikado and foreigners. 3. Permission to retain all the conquests."

§ 317. *Superior equipment and drill of the Nagato forces to the Siogoon's army.*—This bold dictatorial document was no mere

piece of bravado, for Chosiu was prepared to back his demands by the most efficient semi-disciplined force at that time in Japan. For two years he had been drilling his soldiery in manual and platoon exercise after the European system, and his victories, with a much inferior force in numbers to that of his opponents, were gained chiefly by their superior arms and discipline. Without exaggeration, he could boast of having in his ranks five times the number of rifles, wielded by men skilled in their practice, to those in the Imperial army, most of which were inferior weapons, and in the hands of troops only learning to use them. Of the undisciplined forces who comprised nine-tenths of the army in the field, these were no match for the Nagato men, unless they came to close quarters with their swords and spears, which was generally avoided by the riflemen engaging them at long range. Moreover, the daimios who had sent their contingents into the field were becoming tired of this unhappy civil war, which kept them away from their own territories, and obliged them to maintain large bodies of men at their own expense, while it raised the price of provisions and labour everywhere, and created general discontent. To render matters worse, it was more than suspected that serious disaffection existed in the ranks of the regular troops. Seeing this unsatisfactory state of the army to which he had been appointed generalissimo, and the efficient state of the Nagato semi-disciplined force, Yoshi Hisa resolved upon training as many men as he could after the same system. Though he was not yet formally installed as Siogoon by the Mikado, he assumed the post of commander-in-chief, and Kiusiu resigned. Political and military affairs remained in this uncertain state up to the close of the year.

§ 318. *Extensive and destructive fire in the settlement of Yokohama, and dreadful loss of native life.*—While these important events, affecting the whole political and social institutions of Japan, were progressing, the foreign community at Yokohama were enjoying comparative quiet, and commerce on the whole was prospering. This immunity from sanguinary dangers was unfortunately counterbalanced by a destructive conflagration in the settlement, which nearly swept the whole of its buildings away, with the valuable contents of the warehouses, besides sacrificing the lives of many unfortunate Japanese. The fire broke out between eight and nine o'clock on the morning of

November the 26th, in a cookshop near that part of the native quarter where the licensed prostitutes dwelt. This place was on the peninsula, with only one bridge leading to the mainland, from a narrow street crowded with flimsy houses, at the back of which on both sides were two deep moats. There were about one thousand inhabitants in Yoshiwarra, as this quarter was called, and these were chiefly young women of this degraded class. The flames swept along these narrow fragile tenements like two trains of gunpowder; and, though a high wind was blowing from the north against the spreading fire at the time, they were consumed with such rapidity that many poor creatures were burnt to death in their houses. Others who escaped from the fire rushed in terror into the water, and many of those who could not swim fell victims to the opposite element. The affrighted inhabitants, who endeavoured to escape along the narrow street to the bridge, were overwhelmed by the flames; many were suffocated, and succumbed; while a large number rushed to a small temple at the end of Yoshiwarra, which was isolated and saved from the flames. By this time a few boats were at hand, and some were ferried across the moat; while the British Consular Chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Bailey, and Dr. Dinwoodie of the naval hospital, rendered opportune assistance. At the scene of destruction all was confusion and terror, with no guiding head to direct many willing hands. These good Samaritans got some men to construct rapidly a bridge of boats, over which the remainder of the frail humanity escaped to a place of safety; but not before nearly a hundred were left dead under the piles of burnt embers, charred and unrecognizable, or beneath the less cruel waters, lying as if asleep on the bed of the moat.

§ 319. *Area of the conflagration and extent of property destroyed.*—Meanwhile the high wind that prevailed sent showers of burning bamboos and paper work, of which the houses were chiefly built, on to the outskirts of the foreign quarter, where the subordinates in most of the legations and consulates resided, near the Prussian, Swiss, and Portuguese consular offices. The rapidity with which this block of buildings caught fire and was consumed may be gathered from the fact that a house, after igniting on the roof, blazed up and collapsed in five minutes. This block stood behind the Japanese Custom-house, which was soon afterwards burnt to the ground, together with

a large quantity of merchandise in store. Then the conflagration spread rapidly over the central blocks of buildings in the settlement, where the wealthiest merchants and bankers had their premises, filled with valuable imports, exports, and money. The few engines were now brought into requisition; every foreign resident lent a hand to quench the flames; soldiers came from the barracks, seamen from the men-of-war, and the Japanese in foreign employ, all strived to stop the progress of the destructive element; but to little purpose, the fire raged for hours unchecked. At length a detachment of Royal Engineers arrived on the scene under Lieutenant Bond, who at once saw that the only way to arrest its progress was to blow up the premises of Herr van der Tak, agent for the Dutch trading company and other godowns. This was done, and had the desired effect; but not until the greater part of the business streets of Yokohama was a mass of charred ruins. The entire area covered by the buildings consumed was estimated at fifty acres. There were about seventy of the principal foreign premises destroyed, including the British legation and consular residences; the French, United States, Prussian, Portuguese, and Swiss consulates; about thirty merchants' warehouses and offices; the dwellings and business places of two auctioneers, two surgeons, one artist, one photographer, one druggist, one sailmaker, two tailors, one hairdresser, two hotels, and one tavern. The total value of the property lost by this catastrophe was estimated, in round numbers, at four and a half million dollars, or about one million sterling, nearly two-fifths of which were owned by Japanese. Most of the foreign property was insured for some two million dollars, spread over fourteen British Insurance Companies.

§ 320. *Relief of the destitute Japanese by the authorities and foreigners.*—Great distress resulted to the poor Japanese burnt out, but active measures were immediately taken by the authorities for their relief. A large theatre in a part of the settlement unconsumed was turned into a place of refuge, and five hundred persons were taken in by the inhabitants of an adjacent village. All the burnt-out foreigners found shelter and hospitality in the residences of their fellow settlers who were fortunate enough to save their houses from the flames. Nor were they behind-hand in subscribing towards a fund for the

relief of the destitute natives. One charitable German gave a thousand itziboos (75*l.*), and others subscribed according to their means, but many could ill bear their losses by the calamity. The few ladies in the settlement busied themselves to set measures on foot for the purpose of raising means to relieve the women and children who were left homeless, and almost without clothing, just as winter had set in. Sir Harry Parkes was absent in the country on the day of the fire, but soon returned to find his legation and consular residences a heap of ruins. He found the archives and moneys all saved, but Mr. Mitford had lost some valuable manuscripts, and so had Herr von Siebold, the interpreter. The old proverb, "Out of evil often good cometh," was exemplified in the results of this great fire for so small a place. Advantage was taken of the large space cleared of buildings, to lay out that part of Yokohama on an improved plan. Another result was that, in consequence of the great losses caused by the fire, the agents of the insurance-offices met and determined on raising their rates fifty per cent. Generally speaking the foreign merchants had covered all losses by their policies, and instead of mourning over them they resumed business with renewed vigour. The very destruction of such large quantities of piece goods, and other articles, naturally gave an impetus to the import trade, and there was a general determination to make the best of it, with as little loss of time as possible.

§ 321. *Fluctuations in money and commerce at Yokohama.*—Among other institutions established by the mercantile community at Yokohama was a Chamber of Commerce composed of the leading merchants in the settlement. Their business was to keep a watch upon the efficient working of the new tariff, the rates of exchange between dollars and itziboos, amount of foreign duties collected at the customs, besides returns of the imports and exports, and generally to advise the members of the Chamber on commercial affairs, or address the consuls on matters connected therewith. For example, they recommended certain duties on silks and some other staple articles; but the rates fixed in the new tariff were much higher, so that the convention did not give that satisfaction which was expected. They approved of the bonded warehouse plan, and the appointment of an English and an American merchant by the Japanese to see it carried out. It was held as a great

omission in the convention that there was no clause allowing the drawback of duties once paid by the importer, so as to allow him the option of re-exporting at the original invoice prices. A remarkable change took place this year in the relative values of the native and foreign metallic currencies. Instead of the former being at an exorbitant premium as at first, it was now at a discount. Formerly, the trader could not get more than 210 itziboos for 100 dollars, now the rate was fixed at 311. The Japanese, having to buy dollars at such a rate to pay for imports, bought sparingly, and in some instances failed to fulfil contracts entered into for forward delivery of goods. At this exchange the native coin was worth no more than its weight in silver; consequently the Mexican dollar was taken by the customs at the original treaty regulation of "weight for weight," besides being allowed to pass into the general currency without the troublesome work of exchange. While imports were thus heavily affected by the state of the money market, exports were hardly less so. Although the price of silk was much less than previously, the exchange made it actually better for the Japanese merchants. Therefore the season of 1866-7 began in July unsatisfactorily. The quantity exported during the season ended at that date comprised 11,585 bales by twenty-four shippers. The tea season of 1865-66 was remarkable for the bulk being exported to the United States at the close of the war—6,731,125 lbs., and to the United Kingdom less than 1,000,000 lbs.

§ 322. *General state of affairs at Nagasaki during the year.*—During this year the foreign community at Nagasaki enjoyed even a greater immunity from sanguinary troubles with the rowdy natives, than their fellow residents at Yokohama. Consequently they availed themselves not only of making frequent excursions in the neighbourhood on sea and on shore, but they built charming residences on the heights overlooking the beautiful bay. In these dwellings they dispensed their hospitality with a liberal hand to the visitors who called, and were always ready to get up a pic-nic upon occasion, so that they had the reputation of being the gayest and most hospitable of the foreign communities. They were also upon excellent terms with the Governor and his subordinate officials; who were making a racecourse for their amusement at the extreme head of the bay, with a road skirting the beach, and a bridge con-

necting the upper end of the foreign settlement with the old Dutch island factory of De-sima. Ground had also been obtained to construct a wet dock near the town. Hitherto the community had no resident clergyman, though they had a neat chapel, where divine service was performed by the Rev. Mr. Williams, of the American Episcopal Mission; but now he was relieved of his kind voluntary services by the appointment of a British Consular Chaplain, who officiated regularly. The trade of the port was quiet and at times dull, the chief transactions being the sale of steamers to Satsuma and the Government. In consequence of the high rate of 305 itziboos exchange for 100 dollars, the import trade was limited to small purchases. The export of rice was prohibited, in consequence of its scarcity, and prices ruled very high. There was an increase on the previous year of the quantity of tea exported to the United States in the season 1865-66, being 1,733,158 lbs. against 669,148 lbs., and a decrease in the shipments to the United Kingdom, being 924,300 lbs against 1,779,839 lbs. in the season of 1864-65.

§ 323. *Desecration of aboriginal graves near Hakodadi by three Englishmen.*—At the close of last year the usually dull settlement of Hakodadi was thrown into a state of great excitement, on account of the Governor bringing a charge against three British subjects for digging into some graves of Ainos, and abstracting several of their skulls. To understand the matter clearly, it is proper to premise that in the northern isles of Japan there exists remnants of the aboriginal race, called in their own language Aino, which simply signifies "Man," who are altogether different in ethnological features from the pure Japanese race, the chief distinction being the hirsute faces, limbs, and bodies of the male sex compared to the thinly bearded chins and almost hairless trunk and limbs of Japanese men, who in this respect take after their Mongol ancestors. These aborigines were subdued at the first conquest of Japan, and being a harmless people they were allowed to retain their own customs, government, and religion; but they were confined to the bleak northern territories of the Island of Yeso—Hakodadi being at its southern extremity. Besides their peculiar bodily characteristics, the head of an Aino is differently shaped from that of ordinary Japanese or European heads. Well, it so happened at this time, that a naturalist

named Mr. Whitely was on a visit to this port, collecting objects for supplying English museums. He came with letters of introduction to the British Consul, and two subordinate officers went with him one day to a place called Oto-shobi, ostensibly to shoot birds. In the neighbourhood of this place there was an Aino burial-ground, and they, anxious to obtain some of the crania of this strange race, dug up the graves and robbed the skeletons of their skulls, putting them into three baskets fastened on pack-horses, and returning with their resurrectionist trophy, of course in the cause of science, to the settlement. They conducted the operation as secretly as possible, but their movements were observed by two native boys, who reported what they had seen to the head men in Oto-shobi. They immediately proceeded to the burial-ground, and found that thirteen graves had been disturbed, nine of males and four of females, while a number of their skulls were missing. The relatives or descendants of the dead made notes of the names of their buried ancestors, and reported the matter to the Governor of Hakodadi. That functionary was highly incensed at the desecration of the tombs, though they were those of an inferior subject-race, as in any case it was a crime highly punishable according to Japanese law. He lost no time in calling on the British Consul and accusing his three countrymen of the offence. If it was true, the Consul replied, they were each liable to a fine of five hundred dollars, and to be deported from Japan; at the same time, they must be tried by a consular court, and witnesses examined to prove that the accused persons committed the act of desecration and theft. Accordingly a court was held, the case tried, and witnesses for both sides examined, which resulted in finding that the charge was not proven. However, the assessors dissenting from this judgment, the case was referred to Her Majesty's Envoy for his decision. A few days afterwards some of the missing skulls were delivered up, and the defendants confessed that they had a share in the desecration, but hinted that other foreigners had been there before them, abstracting skulls, which would account for the whole number not being produced. The delinquents were then taken into custody.

§ 324. *How this affair ended in the punishment of the offenders and compensation to the aggrieved.*—This was a very awkward business for these three Englishmen, especially as two of them

were in the consular service; but as it would leave a very bad impression on the minds of those quiet inoffensive natives in the north, who were always better disposed towards foreigners than the southern people, the offence could not go unpunished. Viewing it in this light, and considering the British law provided against resurrectionist offences, Sir Harry Parkes deemed it his duty to transmit instructions to the Consul that the offenders be imprisoned for one year without the option of paying a fine. When this decision reached Hakodadi in March, 1866, much sympathy was expressed for them by the residents of all nationalities, and a petition was forwarded to the Minister praying that the punishment might be reduced to a money-payment for behoof of the relatives of those interred. After due consideration, he could not in justice release the delinquents, and they were ordered to Hong Kong, there to undergo the term of their imprisonment, while a present in money was to be given to the Ainos. The Governor of Hakodadi was not altogether pleased with this style of reward and punishment; and it was not until after several interviews, and the exercise of great patience on the part of Consul Gower, who had succeeded Consul Vyse, that he gave his consent. All being arranged, he started for the scene of desecration, with a thousand itziboos for distribution among the Ainos, in order to propitiate their feelings. He was accompanied by two friends, one a consular official, and four Yakonins, all of them travelling on horseback, as they had to ride a distance of forty miles to the furthest village—it having transpired that the inhabitants of two villages were interested. The first place was named Mori, twenty-eight miles, but not a single Aino was seen, so the party pushed on to Oto-shibe, twelve miles farther. At first they were received with great sulkiness by some of the men, but this gradually wore off, and the judicious distribution of small coin among the youthful Ainos, with here and there an itziboo to the patriarchs of the tribe, changed ill-tempered countenances into smiling faces, and drew from the men their curious friendly mode of salutation, made by raising both palms of the hands to the chin, and then stroking the long flowing beard gently down. The Governor of Hakodadi requiring some rest after his journey, the ceremonial of distribution was postponed until the afternoon of the following day, which enabled the party to visit the village of Urap, where

they were very kindly received, as the inhabitants had no complaints against foreigners. On their return to Ote-shibe, preparations were made for the ceremony of distribution. The Consul and his fellow official, Mr. Robertson, who could speak Aino, and their friend, with the Governor, sat on a bench covered with red baize in the verandah of the tea-house or inn, while the recipients, to the number of fifty, squatted on mats in the garden in front. Gower and his assistant then stepped forward, requesting the Ainos to stand up, which they did, when he addressed them through their Japanese interpreter to the following effect:—"I am the British Consul lately arrived at Hakodadi, and have been sent by my Minister to express to you the regret that my Government, in common with my countrymen, feel at the desecration of your family graves. The three men who were guilty of this crime have been severely punished, sent away from Hakodadi, and are now undergoing imprisonment. In all countries there are good and bad men: the bad must be punished, so that the good may live in peace. The expenses incurred by you in connection with the trial will be paid by my Government, and, in addition, I am directed to distribute the sum of one thousand itziboos among you in equal proportions to the relations of those whose graves were desecrated. Now that these men have been punished, I hope that no ill-feeling towards foreigners will rest among you, and that you will receive all foreigners in the same kindly way as formerly."* Mr. Robertson then distributed 800 pieces in packets of 18, with an inscription on each denoting that it was a present from the British Government, to each member of this curious little assembly. At Mori the same ceremony was gone through, the number of recipients being only 11. All expressed themselves satisfied, giving vent to expressions of delight at receiving the suddenly acquired riches, to them, of twenty-seven shillings each.

* 'North China Herald.'

CHAPTER XIX.

1867.

THE NEW SIOGOON INSTALLED — DEMISE OF THE MIKADO OSA-H'TO — SUCCEEDED BY HIS SON MUT-SU'TO — RECEPTION OF ENVOYS BY THE SIOGOON AT OSAKA.

§ 325. Installation of the Siogoon by the Mikado at Kioto. § 326. Yoshi Hisa expounds his policy to an assembly of daimios. § 327. He assumes the reins of power with talent and energy. § 328. Sudden death of the Mikado KO-MEI, or Osa-h'to, at Kioto. § 329. Inferior character and talents of the deceased monarch. § 330. An interregnum of eighty days in the Mikado's rule. § 331. The French Envoy monopolizes large government contracts for his countrymen. § 332. French officers arrive to drill and clothe the Imperial army. § 333. Japanese contributions and visitors at the Paris International Exhibition. § 334. Mimbo Taiyoo, the new Siogoon's brother, visits Paris. § 335. Exodus of various classes of Japanese to America and Europe. § 336. Notification disbanding the army in the field against Choshu on account of the Mikado's death. § 337. Admiral King and his officers entertained by the daimio of Tsikuzen. § 338. Series of grand receptions of the foreign Ministers by the Siogoon at Osaka. § 339. Official audiences to the four Envoys in Japanese style. § 340. Hiogo, Osaka, and Yedo to be opened to foreign residents in January, 1868.

§ 325. *Installation of the Siogoon by the Mikado with full powers.* —On the 10th of January, Yoshi Hisa, late Stots-Bashi, was at Kioto, and received the solemn investiture of Siogoon by the hands of the Mikado, at a grand ceremonial, when the chief Ministers of the Imperial household, and members of the Gorojiô, with a host of other court dignitaries and daimios of the higher classes, graced and sanctioned its legality with their presence, excepting the nobles who were inimical to his power in the State. Before that day he only administered the affairs of the Executive Government as Siogoon elect. It transpired that during the interregnum he intimated to the Mikado, in a respectful but quietly determined manner, that it was far from his wish to accept the honourable post to which he had been elected; still he would do so as an incumbent duty, but only on two conditions: First, that the Mikado should give ear to his advice as that of a councillor, who would by his

office be brought into closer contact with foreigners than the great daimios, and give preference to his counsel. Secondly, that all the daimios should not only approve of his appointment, but promise him their entire and unconditional support in carrying out the internal and foreign policy he might deem it necessary to pursue. He was further reported to have suggested that the continuance of hostilities against Chosiu on the part of the Government would, in his opinion, be productive of no beneficial result, but would rather tend to excite the minds of other liberal daimios to a similar policy. The Mikado—who at the time was in rather a weakly state of health—listened attentively to the propositions of this astute, vigorous statesman, and it was reported at the time that he gave in to the views expressed by his new generalissimo-premier, and accorded him full powers to act as he pleased, but in accord with the spirit of the law and the rights of hereditary sovereignty.

§ 326. *Yoshi Hisa expounds his policy to an assembly of daimios.*—A few days after this audience with his sovereign, he had a conference with the daimios who had come to be present at his installation. On that occasion it was reported that Yoshi Hisa opened the meeting by expressing his aversion to the acceptance of the high office to which he had been unanimously elected. He asked candidly whether any daimio present was willing to take upon himself the performance of its onerous duties. No one spoke, either to object to his assuming power, or put himself forward as a candidate for the post. Then he proceeded to inform the august assembly that, although contrary to his desire, he found himself placed by their silence in an unenviable position, and one which he considered as altogether untenable except with their full support, he should not hesitate in relinquishing the trust placed in his hands upon the first signs of disaffection or hostility. At the same time, in order that they might know what measures he invited them to endorse, he would briefly state their purport. As Siogoon, while acting to the best of his ability, he should expect their aid; and if any one dissented from his policy, it must be intimated to him in a respectful, dutiful manner, as the head of the Executive Government. With regard to the Chosiu embroilment, it was his intention to settle it as soon as possible on peaceful terms, with a view of subsequently con-

solidating the whole forces of Japan into a regular and effective army. The foreign treaties he considered to have been made and deliberately concluded by his predecessors; and though he might find it necessary to inaugurate a radical change in the internal policy of the Government, yet he would prove to the foreign Ministers that the Japanese were both as willing and desirous of performing their treaty obligations as themselves. An opportunity to explain this would be afforded to himself, as well as to the assembly he was addressing, on the occasion of opening Hiogo, or even sooner, when he intended to entertain the foreign Ministers at the official castle of Osaka, in such a manner as to prove to them the sincerity of the future intentions of the Government of Japan.

§ 327. *Yoshi Hisa assumes the reins of power with energy.*— Finding no apparent opposition to his assuming the reins of this quasi-government, the newly appointed Siogoon took them in hand with a will, to drive it safely through the complicated difficulties that surrounded the downfall of the State coach. It was acknowledged on all hands that he devoted to the public business of Japan, at this transitionary period, an amount of intelligence, energy, and earnestness, seldom if ever exhibited by the executive ruler of the realm. At the same time, while he conciliated the people, he was held in great esteem by his sovereign. The only dissentients were the daimios, who were jealous of his abilities and power. With a view to discuss with them the policy of progress the nation should adopt, he endeavoured to convoke an assemblage at Kioto of all the great feudatories who were possessed of independent territorial rights, to discuss the political questions of the day. They had different views to advocate, at least a certain number of the upper eighteen, and abstained from accepting the political behests of the energetic successor to the enfeebled Iyemochi. In fact, the more Yoshi Hisa showed himself suited for becoming the lieutenant of the legitimate sovereign, the more these powerful feudatories became apprehensive of his assuming some day the regal authority. Consequently, the daimios of Satsuma and other great nobles who had not rallied round his standard, held aloof to watch the course of events.

§ 328. *Sudden demise of the Mikado at Kioto in February.*— In the midst of their deliberations and contentions the new Siogoon, the Gorojio, and the ruling daimios of the hetero-

geneous system by which Japan was then governed, or, more correctly speaking, misgoverned, were startled by the announcement of the unexpected death of the Mikado in his palace at Kioto on the 3rd of February. Scarcely had the nation cast off its mourning at the death of the youthful Siogoon, Minomoto Iyemochi, five months before, than it was called upon to perform ancient customs and ceremonials of a graver character on the demise of their legitimate sovereign, Ko-Mei, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign, ruling under the title of Osa-h'to. The first of these monarchs entitled Jim-moo, commenced his reign 2327 years before, and he and his long line of successors for more than twenty centuries held undivided sway over the realm as absolute kings. Then there was a decline in this despotic sway through the weakness of the hereditary Court of Kioto, and the growing strength of the feudal nobility who instituted the Siogoonship and its rival Court of Yedo, until the Mikados became powerless and passive occupants of the sacred throne. Nevertheless, though they were such in an executive capacity, they maintained their hereditary legitimate power over the nation; and the mass of the people regarded the reigning Mikado with superstitious veneration, as of heavenly descent from the Kami, or gods of the Sintoo creed. Even the most wealthy and powerful of his vassals—the eighteen semi-independent daimios—yielded implicit obedience to the behests of the deceased Mikado, when they would have treated the orders of the late Siogoon with indifference, if not contempt. Hence he was surrounded with the "divinity which hedges a king" as much as the most sacred European or Asiatic monarch.

§ 329. *Inferior character and talents of the deceased Mikado.*—It was from this profound veneration in which the Mikados were held by all estates in the realm, from the prince to the peasant, that the foreign appellation arose among writers of styling the late occupant of the throne the "Spiritual Emperor," in contradistinction to that of "Temporal Emperor," by which the Siogoon was designated. Both designations were inappropriate, as these brief annals show. What the claims of his predecessors were to be held up as sacred personages, removed from all the cares and gross realities of this world, there are no records from which to gather authentic materials, at least as far as foreign investigations are concerned. But there are

reliable accounts from native sources, which go far to prove that Ko-Mei was a man who had little or no claim to ecclesiastical sovereignty or heavenly origin, being of those designated in Scripture as "of the earth earthy." It is true that the statements of this kind to foreigners were *vivâ voce*, but the informants were in a position at the Court of Kioto to know the true nature of his character. They represented him as being of an avaricious and time-serving disposition: a personage who greedily accepted all the pecuniary means he could obtain from contending parties in the State; but who had not sufficient strength of character to identify himself with any party. It was alleged that he acted with great duplicity in the embroilment of the Siogoon's party with Chosiu, while that gallant vassal never deserted from his allegiance. Moreover, when it transpired that he had died of the small-pox, the case was without precedent, as he was the first of the Mikados, during a period of more than twenty-three and a quarter centuries, who succumbed to so foul a disease. It was not surprising, therefore, that many superstitious Japanese believed, from this fact, that great calamities or revolutions would befall their country; and in this respect their prophecies were fulfilled, but from different causes.

§ 339. *An interregnum of eighty days in the Mikado's rule.*— Notwithstanding the departure from this life of one possessed of mediocre attainments, his demise as the hereditary sovereign of the realm, at an important juncture of political affairs, had a momentous and permanent effect upon the destinies of Japan. Without reference to events that subsequently transpired, in the extraordinary revolution and progress of the State, there is every evidence to infer that the death of Ko-Mei, at the beginning of the Japanese New Year, was the culminating point in the political struggle brought about by foreign innovations, which have since restored the ancient monarchy to more than its pristine glory. At his death he left a successor in his eldest son, then a young man sixteen years of age, and who, not having attained his majority, could not ascend the vacant throne. This involved all the complications of ruling by a regency, until he reached the age of nineteen, when he would be qualified to reign, according to the laws of the realm. The same authority ruled that the usual period of mourning for the demise of the Mikado must be fifty days, and at the expiry of

that time, the ceremonies appertaining to the installation of his successor should occupy thirty days more. During these eighty days no Government business requiring reference to the Court of Kioto could be transacted; but the Siogoon and the Gorojio were empowered to conduct the executive departments as usual. However, the proposed visit of the Foreign Plenipotentiaries to Osaka was postponed, which was agreed to by them, excepting M. Leon Roche, the French Minister, who went there, and had several conferences with the Siogoon, it is conjectured with a view to protest against the opening of that city and Hiogo, as he conceived it disadvantageous to his country's interest. But his influence was limited, and he could not give effect to his intended obstructive policy against the extension of legitimate trade.

§ 331. *The French Envoy monopolizes large Government contracts.*—These latter remarks open up the important question how far it was allowable for a foreign diplomatist to interfere in commercial dealings beyond his legitimate duties. As to the amount of business conducted by French merchants at the treaty ports, it was infinitesimal compared with that of British merchants: and in no case did it transpire that the officers of Her Majesty's legation or consulates entered into business transactions with the Japanese merchants or the Government. On the other hand, the members of the French and American diplomatic services not only did so, for their own profit, but the Envoys advocated the interests of their countrymen to conclude large contracts for military and naval stores. In this manner M. Roche had secured a kind of monopoly from the Government at Yedo for the construction of docks, arsenal, machinery and ships required, besides arms, clothing, munitions and other stores for the military, to the managing director of the Messageries Impériales Company in Japan. At the time much indignation was expressed by the foreign traders generally at being excluded from these large contracts, but as it turned out the monopoly was a failure.

§ 332. *French officers arrive to drill and clothe the native army.*—After the time these contracts were entered into, there arrived at Yokohama the 'Alphée,' a Messageries steamer, with a number of commissioned and non-commissioned infantry officers, to act as drill instructors to the Siogoon's army, which he intended to reconstruct after the French military system.

This vessel brought out also the first supply of uniforms for the officers and privates. When they appeared in these, the latter were passable, but the former presented a most incongruous aspect, for they still wore their two swords in a sort of hybrid fashion between a Japanese Yakonin and a Parisian gendarme. The trowsers did not fit, the boots were large and heavy, which the old habit of dragging the sandal unfitted them to wear; the coats were made of black cloth profusely covered with silver lace, and slit up the back to allow the long swords to stick out behind, resembling the tails of certain animals to which they were irreverently compared; in fine, they looked far more like gorilla monkeys than men.

§ 333. *Japanese contributions and visitors at the Paris Exhibition.*—This being the year of the International Exhibition in Paris, a great many Japanese of high birth and rank set sail for France to see it; while the Siogoon and several of the leading daimios contributed largely to it. From Yedo was sent a choice collection of the most admirable articles of Japanese manufacture for utility and ornament in silk and satin fabrics, lacquer ware, porcelain, bronzes, and the numerous curious carvings in ivory for which the artificers are famous. One of the Peninsular and Oriental mail steamers, named the 'Azof,' was chartered to convey the exhibits to Suez, from whence they were forwarded to Paris by the Messageries Impériales. Some idea of the extent of the collection may be gathered from the fact that the cases in which they were packed filled five hundred tons of the ship's capacity. From Nagasaki Satsuma and others of the southern daimios sent an equal, if not a larger quantity of samples of their productions, the bulky articles being suits of daimios' armour on models of men and horses; and a veritable tea-house, dwelling, and shop, with men and women to occupy them. From these warlike nobles there was a superb collection of armour, swords, lances, bows, arrows, and other defensive and offensive panoply of mediæval warfare, which are now becoming as much disused in Japan as they are in Europe. Not only did the damio of Satsuma contribute largely, but he sent his two younger brothers and suite to see the "World's Fair," and enjoy the gaieties of Paris.

§ 334. *Mimbo Taiyoo, the Siogoon's brother, visits Paris.*—Yoshi Hisa the new Siogoon, was the promoter of this forward movement, to his great credit, in what may be said to have been the

first step, practically, which the "Land of the Rising Sun" made in entering the comity of Western nations. Preparations had been well forward at the time the Mikado died, and it was another indication of Japanese progress, on his part, that he did not countermand the movement. He not only proved himself above any superstitious prejudice in the matter, by ordering the contributions to be dispatched without delay, but sent his younger brother, Mimboo Taiyoo, a cadet of the Gosankay House of Tokugawa, nominally as custodian and curator of the contributions. He was, however, only sixteen years of age, a quiet, but intelligent young man, so he delegated his authority to the members of his numerous staff and a competent interpreter, who was an accomplished linguist. It was intended that he should remain three or four years in France to obtain a European education; but the revolutionary state of affairs at the close of the year was the cause of him and his staff being suddenly recalled, shortly after they had furnished a luxurious *hotel* in one of the fashionable *faubourgs* of Paris, where he was going through anything but a useful or moral curriculum.

§ 335. *Exodus of various classes of Japanese to America and Europe.* — Less than a year before the death of the Mikado Ko-Mei, that famous decree was issued by his sanction, extending the privilege of foreign travel to all classes of his subjects. During his lifetime this privilege was but sparingly availed of, whether from uncertainty as to the practical abrogation of the old sanguinary edict, or the facilities for distant travel being unprepared, does not appear. But it was significant of the radical changes taking place in the sentiments of the people, as well as the policy of the new Siogoon and his Government, that there were more departures of Japanese of all classes during the fifty days the Mikado lay in state unburied, than in the eleven months previous. Yoshi Hisa accredited several representatives to foreign courts; not sent reluctantly, but in a friendly spirit, and with full appreciation of the importance of diplomatic intercourse. At this time the American Pacific Steam Navigation Company was established, and running magnificent steamers of three thousand and four thousand tons measurement. By the 'Colorado' of that line a Japanese Minister and suite proceeded to San Francisco for Washington. In the same vessel, and others that followed, not only were there a number of young men with means to

travel and study in the United States, but troupes of acrobats, jugglers, stage-players, labourers, and skilled mechanics, who ventured abroad to better their fortunes amongst the whilom barbarians. This was the beginning of a regular voluntary emigration to America, as it became, by means of this line, the nearest Western state to reach by a cheap and rapid transit. Great expectations were entertained of the multitudes expected to flock to San Francisco and spread over all the States, but these have not been realized. However, at the commencement of the movement, the characters of the Japanese immigrants and educated gentlemen were fully appreciated by the Americans. They saw that they quickly understood the advantage of foreign inventions of all kinds, and readily adopted their manners and customs. Four students entered the college at San Francisco to study, and several were allowed to learn navigation and marine warfare in the navy-yard. In like manner some thirteen young gentlemen-cadets, under the charge of a high Japanese officer, came to England to place themselves under the protection of Her Majesty's Government for study and practical information in the United Service. Some of those who entered at Woolwich distinguished themselves prominently, and others who entered the navy reached the proficiency of entitling them to rank as lieutenants.

§ 336. *Notification disbanding the army against Chosiu.*—Meanwhile, in the midst of the general mourning for the Mikado, the following important proclamation was issued at Kioto to the daimios of the first class, announcing the final abandonment of hostilities against Chosiu and the daimio of Nagato, his son. "Notification issued by Iki *no-kami*, 7th March, 1867. With reference to an Imperial Decree, directing that military proceedings on the part of the troops employed in the chastisement of Chosiu should be temporarily left in abeyance; at this time orders have been given that the troops are to be disbanded, on account of the national mourning for the Mikado." "The above orders were issued on the 27th February." This was tantamount to an official acknowledgment that the Nagato and Suwo forces were victors in the struggle. It was in no way remarkable, especially after the new Siogoon manifested his unwillingness to involve himself in contention with a daimio whose powerful connections, geographical position, and known resources, rendered the result of

the contest hardly doubtful. This acknowledgment of defeat by the party of Daimios opposed to him rendered Chosiu master of the situation, and with no inconsiderable advantage gained. Not only had he broken the *prestige* of the Siogoon, the Gorojio, and their adherents, but he retained the substantial fruits of his victory in a considerable accession to the territories of the ancient Nagato clan; that might be increased to their original extent when his family were the feudatories of two-thirds of the Sanyodo Peninsula. He had crossed the Suwo Sea, and held the chief part of the Buzen feudatory, which gave him absolute command over Simanosaki Strait on both sides. This position was not only alarming to the Siogoon and his Government, but foreigners were apprehensive of renewed hostilities should he again try to close this important channel.

§ 337. *Admiral King and his officers entertained by the daimio of Tsikuzen.*—As the apprehension of attacks upon the settlements of Yokohama and Nagasaki gradually died away, the sea and land forces were reduced accordingly, and removed to other stations in the Far East, or were ordered home. However, sufficient naval and military contingents were left to meet any emergency. Of these the British squadron under Admiral King remained; but, it not being necessary that the ships should remain too long at anchor in harbour, he made a cruise round the southern islands, entering other than treaty ports belonging to some of the great Daimios. On one occasion he visited the port of Fuokoku, the chief town in the territory of the daimio of Tsikuzen, situated on the north-western coast of Kiusiu, near the outer entrance to Simanosaki Strait. This feudatory belonged to the Koorada family, with an estimated revenue of 390,000*l.* per annum. Admiral King arrived one evening at the anchorage off this seaport in the spacious Bay of Hakosaki, on board his flag-ship, the 'Princess Royal,' with the 'Basilisk' corvette, and a gun-boat. Immediately the vessels came to anchor, Tsikuzen himself and suite came off in a steamer of his own to welcome the Admiral, inviting him and thirty of his officers next day to a banquet at his palatial residence. This was accepted, and they were hospitably entertained after the Japanese style with a tedious number of courses. While on the way back to the gun-boat they were escorted into a brilliantly lighted house, where another enter-

tainment was laid out in the European style for those to partake of who had not made a sufficient meal off the native viands. Next day a large party were invited to a *battue* in a neighbouring forest, where they shot fifty deer and two wild boars. Then followed a naval demonstration, and a military display on shore; when a multitude of spectators assembled to witness the manœuvres, giving evidence of the large and industrious population in this friendly daimio's territory.

§ 338. *Grand receptions of the foreign Ministers by the Siogoon.*—On the 28th of April, the eighty days of interregnum expired; the body of the Mikado, Ko-mei, was interred in the cemetery dedicated to his predecessors at Kioto, the youthful prince was installed as his successor, and a Council of Regency appointed to assist him in conducting the affairs of State. Then the nation resumed its ordinary aspect, while the Siogoon carried on his Government with fresh vigour. His earliest act was to arrange the time when the foreign Ministers should have interviews at Osaka, and preparations be made to entertain them with munificent hospitality. All was ready on the 1st of May, by which day the British plenipotentiary had arrived in the 'Basilisk,' with the 'Argus,' 'Pelorus,' and 'Serpent,' in harbour; the Dutch Envoy with the 'Watergeus' and a Japanese steamer; the French Minister in 'La Guerrière,' and the American Envoy in the 'Shenandoah.' Next day Sir Harry Parkes and suite were admitted to a private audience of the Siogoon, now styled Uye Sama, his personal name being Yoshi Hisa. He was described as a man of ordinary stature, with a pleasant and very intelligent face, bright sparkling eyes, and a voice of remarkable sweetness. He was dignified in his bearing, with easy and refined manners. At the conclusion of the audience, the mounted escort of troopers, and a company of infantry, who formed His Excellency's guard on the occasion, passed in review before the Siogoon, and went through various evolutions, which seemed to give him great pleasure. The British Minister and suite were then conducted into a room in which was laid a sumptuous dinner, cooked and served in the French style, at which all the plate and glass were of the best European manufacture. Their host did the honours of the table himself, and though it was the first time he had done so at a dinner *à la Européenne*, he went through the etiquette as if to "the manner born,"—sitting at the head

with the chief guest on his right hand. After dinner, dessert was placed on the table, when the Siogoon proposed the health of the Queen of Great Britain, and afterwards that of her Minister, to both of which toasts Sir Harry responded. Similar private audiences and banquets were given on following days to the Ministers of Holland, America, and France; the hall of audience on these occasions being furnished in the best style of European luxury: the floors covered with rich Brussels carpets, and the walls covered with ornamental paper hangings.

§ 339. *Official audiences to the four Envoys in Japanese style.*—Then followed a succession of official audiences in apartments furnished in simple Japanese style, the floors covered with finely wrought mats, but the lofty ceilings handsomely carved and gilded with crests and heraldic insignia emblazoned on them. The Siogoon and all his officials were dressed in quaint but rich court costumes, the former in a beautiful white silk robe, with his crest embroidered in pink on the breast; wide trowsers, fastened by a girdle, having a jewel-hilted sword in it; and on his head a little black cap. The officials wore coloured vestments, with their own crests as well as that of their master embroidered in front, and similar small caps on their heads, but their limbs were clad in awkward trowsers, trailing a foot or two of their length on the ground behind them. On the arrival of the Ministers at the castle, they were received by the chief Governor of Foreign Affairs, and led into the presence of the Siogoon, who received them standing, bowed his head, and then made some complimentary and appropriate remarks. After a brief conversation, through the interpreters, they were conducted into an inner chamber, where each was presented with a rich court suit, having the Siogoon's crest embroidered on it. The plenipotentiaries were all well pleased at both the private and public receptions awarded to them by the princely Uye Sama.

§ 340. *Hiogo, Osaka, and Yedo to be opened to foreign trade in* 1868.—When not engaged in these ceremonials the Envoys and their staffs were busily employed in conferences among themselves, and negotiations with the Gorojio, concerning the location of the foreign settlements at Hiogo and Osaka. The sites allotted were surveyed by a British maritime surveying officer, Captain Sutton, after making marine surveys of the harbours. In Hiogo the ground extended from the shore, a

mile wide, for a distance of some five miles up the slope of a range of hills, bounded on the one side by the town of Kobè, and on the other by a stream called the Cent River. At Osaka, the foreign quarter marked out was situated nearly in the centre of the city, on an elevated piece of ground, surrounded by trees, and watered by small tributaries of the river. Besides these locations, the city of Yedo, and a port on the west coast, not determined, were to be opened to foreigners on the 1st of January, 1868, as announced in the following notification:—"The undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Japan, hereby makes known for the information of Her Majesty's subjects that he has received formal notice from the Japanese Government that they are fully prepared to open to British subjects on the first day of January next, in the manner stipulated in Article III. of the Treaty of Yedo, the cities of Yedo and Osaka, the port of Hiogo, and another port in the west coast of Japan. Arrangements are consequently in progress for determining the place which may be occupied by British subjects at the said cities and ports, for purposes of residence and trade, and due notice will be given as soon as these and other necessary arrangements for the execution of the same in respect to the said cities and ports shall be completed.—HARRY PARKES." These were set forth on a liberal scale, and approved of by His Excellency.

CHAPTER XX.

1867 (CONTINUED).

COMBINATION OF DAIMIOS TO OVERTHROW THE SIOGOON — HE RESIGNS NOMINALLY TO THE MIKADO — COMMERCE AT THE PORTS — LARGE FLEET OF STEAMERS SOLD.

§ 341. The great daimios combine to oppose the new Siogoon. § 342. Ports belonging to the daimios of Kanga and Etzizen. § 343. The Siogoon counts on French aid in the event of a civil war. The Mikado and Ministers side with the opposition daimios. § 344. Progress of the Siogoon on his way to Kioto stopped by hostile daimios. § 345. He sends in his resignation of the Siogoonship to the Mikado. § 346. Policy of making the Mikado *de facto* ruler nothing new. § 347. Siogoon's resignation provisionally accepted by the Mikado. § 348. Murder of two British seamen at Nagasaki by Japanese sailors. § 349. Effects of disbanding the troops in the field against Chôsiu. § 350. Transition state of the improvements at Yokohama after the fire. § 351. Secretary Locock's report on the new ports of Hiogo and Osaka. § 352. Commerce at Yokohama affected by the disturbed state of the country. § 353. Trade at Nagasaki unsatisfactory except in the sale of steamers. § 354. Statistics of steamers purchased by the Siogoon and daimios.

§ 341. *The great daimios combine to oppose the new Siogoon.*— However satisfactory the result of these munificent hospitalities and amicable negotiations were to the high contracting parties concerned, they had the contrary effect upon the proud daimios who "were not bidden to the feast." It was considered that the Siogoon had committed a fatal error in receiving the foreign Ministers Plenipotentiary as he did, alone and surrounded only by the chief officers of his combined civil and military administration. Several of the most powerful daimios expressed their desire that besides a display of the Imperial troops, they should also assemble their armed retainers at Osaka, and themselves be present at the conferences with the foreign Treaty representatives. Their motives for proposing to do so, it was said, were partly by such a display of their combined military strength, to impress foreigners with a proper degree of respect, if not fear, for the great territorial feudatory nobles of Japan. Also, partly to see that their individual interests, commercial

as well as political were not sacrificed for the benefit of the Siogoon and his satellites alone, at the proposed opening of the new ports, especially the city of Osaka. They very naturally objected to the extension of a trade in which they had no share, and the profits from which only strengthened an able and dangerous rival, whom they shrewdly suspected of a design to become their absolute master. It appeared that, Osaka not being strictly a city of his own, the Siogoon, by taking the responsibility of promising that it would be opened to foreign residents in 1868, had so far committed himself that the daimios opposed to him had some cause of complaint that they had not been previously consulted. At the same time it is only just to state that he invited all the great daimios to a conference, which these jealous nobles persistently evaded by a contemptuous silence, and hence the assembly never took place, therefore they did not give him an opportunity of consulting them. These daimios, some of them ostensibly friendly to him, were Satsuma, Nagato-Chosiu, Etzizen, Tosa, Kanga, and others of lesser grade. When they saw that their rival had acted on his own responsibility in committing himself to open Osaka on the first day of the ensuing year, they were determined to oppose it with all their might, unless foreign trade was also permitted at certain ports in their own territories; and if they were refused to enter into such a compact, they would themselves invite foreigners to trade at their non-treaty ports. Indeed, there was at the time a considerable deal of contraband traffic being carried on by several unscrupulous adventurers, especially in arms and ammunition at these places.

§ 342. *Ports belonging to the daimios of Kanga and Etzizen.*—Now it was just possible that one or other of these feudal ports might be included in the new convention, as Nagato was to be given up, and another town on the west coast to be substituted. Of these it was said the seaport of Kanasawa, in the territory of Kanga, would be the most eligible, as it was situated about equidistant from Kioto and Yedo, on the opposite side of the great island of Nip-pon. The daimio of Kanga represented the great Mayedda family, the wealthiest in Japan, whose united revenues registered on the official list amounted to 1,237,700 kokus, equivalent to 936,228*l.*, while his own income was three quarters of a million sterling. Moreover, he was among the first to show himself friendly to foreign intercourse, and, indeed,

was regarded as the leader of the party of progress. He published a memorial to the Mikado in 1863, in which he advocated liberal views, dwelling particularly on one advantage which he considered likely to spring from opening Japan generally to foreign trade, namely, that in all likelihood the increased demand for labour to raise produce for export would gradually absorb large numbers of the unemployed Samourai, ronins, and other dangerous classes bearing arms, whom he and other enlightened Japanese considered the great curse of the country. He was also one of the earliest to send portions of produce from his estates, suitable for the foreign market, to the nearest treaty port for sale. On the other hand his neighbour, the daimio of Etzizen, who was a relative of the deceased Siogoon Iyemochi, had a town named Mikooni, which he appeared rather confident would be proposed as the new port, for he had constructed a sea-wall and jetties to improve its harbour accommodation. His cultivated lands, also, producing tea and silk largely, being adjacent, it was considered an advantageous position for foreign commerce.

§ 343. *The Siogoon counts on French aid in the event of civil war.*—Neither the threats nor justifiable claims of these daimios had any influence in changing the policy of the ambitious Siogoon, who refused to adopt any of their suggestions, or admit their equality with himself, and thus he offended the pride and disappointed the expectations of a number of powerful rivals, who thereby became his bitterest enemies. In pursuing this bold policy, the ambitious Uye Sama calculated on his new made allies among the Western Powers to render him material assistance in upholding his position, which he would study to make as favourable as possible to them. How he leaned upon a broken reed in these miscalculations will be seen in the sequel. Meanwhile, it may be remarked that if any of the foreign diplomatists encouraged such a policy it was not that of Her Majesty's Minister, who assured both parties that Great Britain would remain entirely neutral in the impending civil war. On the other hand, the Envoy of the late Emperor Napoleon made no promise of the kind, while he and his countrymen became more and more involved in the fortunes of the Siogoon, by entering into gigantic contracts for military and naval armaments with his agents, besides securing French drill instructors exclusively for the reorganization of the army.

Whether the idea of obtaining their assistance in the event of hostilities with the daimios first originated with the Japanese generalissimo or the French plenipotentiary there are no data to determine. But if we infer from the monopolies secured by M. Roches, there are reasons for conjecturing that this functionary was the first to hint at such an eventuality, without compromising his Government. Be that as it may, the scandal was notorious among both natives and foreigners that the French were going to espouse the cause of the Siogoon against the hostile daimios. It was even rumoured that if the former were successful in crushing his opponents by the aid of French arms, Napoleon might endorse the act as legitimate, by sending out a large fleet and army to maintain Uye Sama in power, and exercise the usual policy of France over semi-barbarous nations by establishing a protectorate.

The Mikado and Ministers side with the opposition daimios.—As to the position and policy of the Mikado and his Ministers at this momentous juncture of State affairs, it is difficult to ascertain them with any degree of certainty. However, enough transpired to indicate that the Court at Kioto were pursuing a time-serving policy in the name of the youthful monarch, as they did during his father's reign. It was, however, known by the opposition party that his personal sympathies were with them. He was brother-in-law to Iyemochi, the late Siogoon, whose widow, his sister, was with him in his palace at Kioto mourning over her loss. Though both of them were still in their teens, yet they had seen many and serious events to make them reflect on the intrigues and violence passing around them. It was reported on good authority that the youthful widow entertained the belief that the successor to her husband when he held the post of Stots-Bashi at the time of his demise, made away with him in a secret manner, and, consequently, she became his implacable enemy. With the late Mikado he was upon excellent terms, and had considerable influence over him. But it was held that the new occupant of the throne shared his sister's feelings, and paid little or no attention to the Siogoon's advice. This the hostile daimios knew, and they resolved to make political capital of it, by preventing the latter from having any personal communication with his sovereign.

§ 344. *Progress of the Siogoon stopped on the way to Kioto by*

hostile daimios.—About two months after the audiences and grand festivities at Osaka, in May, the Siogoon, with his ordinary retinue, left that city to pay a state visit to the Mikado. When he was a few miles on the way, his further progress was arrested by a large body of armed men, who were retainers of Satsuma, Tosa, Hosokawa, and O-ngasawara. Not being prepared to force a passage through a host that mustered ten to his one, he had no other alternative but to return to his castle. Now the antecedents of these daimios, especially the two last named, were significant of the combination that had taken place to overthrow the Siogoon. O-ngasawara was formerly a staunch adherent of the Yedo party, and a bitter foe of Chosiu, and we have seen how the latter seized his territory in Buzen, sacking the city of Kokura. Finding that the Siogoon had declared the war at an end, and that his chance of recovering his estates was very small, he thought it the best policy to join with the other party, and, as will be seen presently, with great advantage to himself. That Hosokawa should be in opposition was no more extraordinary than that Kanga or Etzizen were also resisting the Siogoon's attempted monopoly of foreign commerce. But this party would not be likely to have taken such a bold step as to bar the progress of the second personage in the realm to advise with his sovereign on State affairs, unless they knew the act would be approved of. At the same time they sent envoys to Osaka, requesting that the Siogoon would hold a conference with them at Kioto, so as to conclude a real peace with Chosiu, and have it ratified by the Mikado. He made no objection to this but proceeded thither, and met Satsuma, Etzizen, Tosa, Hosokawa, and O-ngasawara; and matters came so far to a satisfactory termination, that the armistice was converted into a settled peace, and the last-named daimio got back Kokura and his lands in Buzen. In order to please both parties, the proclamation announcing the settlement of the affair stated that "the Government of the Siogoon has been in the right throughout the dispute, and Chosiu has not been in error."

§ 345. *Uye Sama sends in his resignation of the Siogoonship.*—This apparent reconciliation of the contending parties was, however, only illusory. The ambitious Uye Sama saw that his opponents were daily becoming stronger, by the desertion of his adherents to their side, while his physical power was

becoming gradually weaker since the disbandment of the troops sent against Chosiu. Moreover, he asserted that the chief cause of his accepting the Siogoonship was to bring about terms of peace honourable to all parties. That being accomplished during the last negotiations at Kioto sanctioned by the Mikado, he resolved to abdicate in favour of a scion of the noble house of Owari, the representative daimio of the Go-Sanke class, which stood first on the roll of nobility, while the cadets were eligible for the post of Siogoon. Indeed it was affirmed that one of the aspirants of that house was the legitimate successor to Kubo Sama. Be that as it may, Uye Sama sent in his resignation to the Mikado in August. In doing so he set forth his reasons in a long historical and ably written state paper, which has not been translated in full; but, from a *précis* which appeared at Yokohama some months afterwards, it appears that the document referred to events which occurred as far back as the twelfth century of our era, when a daimio named Kikomori seized the sacred person of the reigning Mikado and dictated a policy he was obliged to endorse under coercion. It then passed on to the close of the sixteenth century, when his own ancestors, the founders of the Tokugawa family, came into power. The Mikado is reminded that the great ancestor of Yoshi Hisa, named Iyeyas, was appointed the first Siogoon, and the administration of the Government entrusted to his care. This post he fulfilled faithfully, and so did his descendants as successors for more than two hundred years, each discharging his duties to the best of his ability, and bearing constant allegiance to the dynasty of the Mikados. But the time had now arrived when a change in the constitution of the Government was absolutely necessary. This, he delicately hinted, was in consequence of their new relations with Foreign Powers, whose civilization could be no longer ignored. A measure of internal reform was also necessary, and he inclined to a system of representative Government. The memorial concluded by stating that the burden of the Siogoonship was too much for him to bear, and he suggested that His Majesty and a council of daimios had better undertake the Government of the country themselves.

§ 346. *Policy of the Mikado to be de facto ruler nothing new.*—This astute move of Uye Sama's upon the political chessboard checked for the moment the active operations of his opponents,

while it gave him time to negotiate secretly with the daimios friendly to his cause, and enabled him to strengthen his forces by sea and land, as he expected heavy foreign armaments his agents had purchased to arrive shortly. There can be no doubt that he was sincere in resigning the Siogoonship and recommending His Majesty to be the supreme ruler of Japan, *de facto* as well as *de jure*, with a cabinet composed of leading daimios, but he wished to be permanent Prime Minister. This was no new policy. It was precisely what Shimadzoo Saburo, of Satsuma, and his party had been intriguing and fighting for since 1863, and which, but for Chosiu's collision with the Foreign Powers at Simanosaki, would in all probability have triumphed without hostilities in the early days of Iyemochi's rule. Be that as it may, the time was now ripe for establishing a Government upon such a basis, and it was circulated privately that its composition would be as follows:—His Majesty the Mikado, the daimios Satsuma, Etzizen, and Mito (Yoshi Hisa), to constitute the cabinet, and Chosiu to be Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial army, into which the retainer-soldiery would be incorporated. The great Council of Daimios already existing would have their legislative powers extended so as to take the administration of minor measures into their hands.

§ 347. *The Siogoon's resignation provisionally accepted by the Mikado.*—Under the circumstances, the Mikado and his regency considered that it would be politic to reply favourably to the memorial of Yoshi Hisa; while accepting his resignation of the Siogoonship, directing him to administer the duties of the post, until the matter was deliberated on by a special assembly of the great Council of Daimios to be convoked at Kioto. The following translation conveys the substance of the Mikado's reply:—"Your ancestors and their posterity, down to the present date, have been highly trusted and confided in. To them has been delegated the administration of the Government of the country. The representation you have now made, however, consequent upon the present state of the nation, is considered reasonable, and is therefore acquiesced in by the Mikado. You are directed to make your conduct to accord with the desires of the people of the country, which you will serve to the utmost of your ability. You will defend and protect the realm from evil, that the Imperial mind may rest in tranquillity. The important question of the foreign barbarians you are to deli-

berate upon with the daimios in council. The two Imperial Government Chambers will receive all representations and issue all orders. All other matters will be transacted by the daimios who have been ordered to repair to Kioto. Until their arrival, however, the hitherto jurisdiction of Tokugawa, Yoshi Hisa, will remain under his administration." The resignation of the Siogoon, and its qualified acceptance by the Mikado, were not publicly announced until November, although it was generally known throughout the country, and at the treaty ports. At last permission to make the event public arrived at Yedo on the evening of the 16th. Next day the Mikado's functionaries bearing the Imperial decree assembled the officers of the administration, and informed them that they were no longer Government officials, but simply servants of the Tokugawa family. At Yokohama the Custom-house officers, and other officials appointed under the *régime* of the late Siogoons, received similar notifications two days afterwards. By this decree it may be said that Yoshi Hisa, as titular Siogoon, Uye Sama, was virtually divested of power, and only held the office on sufferance.

§ 348. *Murder of two British seamen at Nagasaki by Japanese sailors.*—While these important events were occurring in the internal affairs of Japan, the position of the foreign communities remained quiet and comparatively free from danger. The only sanguinary deed that disturbed the general equanimity happened at Nagasaki. H.M.S. 'Icarus' lay in harbour at the time, and one evening, in the beginning of August, some of her liberty men were ashore. As usual the British tars got into a house of entertainment, at least two of them did, and indulged freely in potations of *saki*—a spirit distilled from rice, and quickly intoxicating. In the same apartment with them were two Japanese sailors, belonging to an armed foreign-built steamer named the 'Nansai,' the property of the great daimio of Tosa. From what transpired it was concluded that the two parties quarrelled, but whether the British seamen were the first to show fight does not appear; though it was evident they had been set upon by their assailants, drawing their murderous swords and cutting them down in the usual cruel Japanese style of assassination. When this outrage was reported to Sir Harry Parkes at Yedo, through Admiral Keppel—who had returned to relieve Admiral King—no time was lost by them

to investigate the affair on the spot. On inquiry it was ascertained that Tosa's vessel steamed out of harbour immediately after the affray, thereby furnishing circumstantial evidence that it was some of her men who committed the murders. The Minister represented the case to the Siogoon, who referred him to Tosa. Then he and the Admiral sailed in the 'Basilisk' for that daimio's chief town of Kowochi, where they had several interviews with him, when he denied all knowledge of the murders, but promised to make inquiries, and if the assassins were his men he would punish them. There was no evidence that the crime had any political meaning, but appeared to be the result of a drunken brawl, and so the matter was allowed to drop.

§ 349. *Effects of disbanding the troops forming the force against Chosiu.*—Although the above-mentioned affair was devoid of any political significance, yet it manifested the existence still of hatred against foreigners among the armed classes. Several other instances occurred showing this, both at Nagasaki and Yokahama, but none of a serious character, yet sufficiently so for residents and visitors to be careful in going beyond the precincts of the settlements. The increase of the dangerous class at this time was attributed to the disbandment of the Government troops, by the Mikado's decree, which was being gradually effected. It was calculated that there were fifty thousand men of this category among the Imperial soldiery and militia. Of these the greater number had been taken from their industrial pursuits when enrolled two years previously, who gladly returned to the tillage of the soil and other occupations. Still there was a large proportion of them men who had no immediate means of livelihood after their pay was all expended, and therefore they were thrown upon their own resources, which caused much distress among the honestly inclined. Then there remained many disbanded two-sworded men, who were bred up to arms and had no taste for peaceful labour—swashbucklers who swelled the *Ronin* class, whom poverty had turned into desperate bravoes, and who considered the foreigners responsible for their misfortunes. With a view to prevent this, and likewise to deprive the daimios of employing efficient officers from the disbanded force, the Government offered good pay to all who would enlist in the Imperial army, above the rank of privates. Many accepted the terms, and

were taught the manual and platoon-exercises by the French drill instructors, showing great aptitude in acquiring the use of the rifle; but still numbers of them preferred leading a dissolute life, prowling about the country, dangerous alike to peaceable natives and foreigners.

§ 350. *Transition state of the improvements at Yokohama after the fire.*—As to the domestic affairs of the residents at Yokohama, they were in a transition state during the internal political movements recorded. It will be remembered that, after the devastating conflagration which nearly swept away the settlement altogether, every one, both foreigners and natives, merchants and officials, set to with a will to restore it, and improve its foundations and buildings. The Japanese authorities were the first to begin the improvements by filling up a great portion of the swampy ground; but they did so without constructing proper drains to carry off the sewage. Consequently, when the hot weather set in, the settlement, at no time a salubrious spot, was more unhealthy than ever. The municipal council appointed a sanitary committee to examine and report, and the community at large petitioned the British Minister to draw the attention of the Government to the construction of these necessary works. This was ultimately attended to, and the sanitary condition of the settlement improved. The municipality did not prove so efficient as was anticipated, and its usefulness was marred by personal squabbles among the councillors. In like manner, the rebuilding of burned warehouses and dwellings did not progress actively; and the Japanese showed an example in rebuilding the Custom House and other native public offices, which the foreign community failed to emulate. The chief cause of this apathy was the anticipated opening of the treaty ports at Hiogo and Osaka, where many of the residents intended to remove after the 1st of January, 1868. Moreover, others who did not intend to move at once, deemed it prudent to wait and see how Yokohama commerce would be affected by these additions to the outlet and inlet of trade. Some were apprehensive it would be reduced to the dimensions of the Nagasaki trade; but in that respect their fears were groundless.

§ 351. *Secretary Locock's report on the new ports of Hiogo and Osaka.*—When the foreign Ministers were being so sumptuously entertained by the deposed Siogoon Yoshi Hisa, Mr. Locock,

Secretary to the British legation, was instructed by Sir Harry Parkes to furnish a report on the capabilities of Osaka and Hiogo as places for foreign commerce, compared with Yokohama. The result was a full and interesting *résumé* of such information as he was able to gather during the time of his visit, which was published for general information. Commencing with a general description of the two ports, the report stated that, to render the navigation of foreign vessels more safe, the Government engaged to erect and maintain two lighthouses, one at each port, constructed on the most improved principle in Europe. As regards the general topography of Osaka, it does not compare favourably with Yedo, being deficient in the open spaces, gardens, and fine trees that adorn the latter. On the other hand, the streets are better paved, and, earthquakes being rare, the buildings are more lofty. The inhabitants, also, were reported to be more industrious and orderly than the Yedoites, consisting chiefly of the mercantile class, and foreigners were treated with uniform respect and civility. On this fact especial stress is laid, that while in Yedo foreigners could rarely show themselves without the risk of insult, in Osaka they were able to roam about at will, without so much as meeting an angry look or offensive word. The population of the city proper was computed, on native statistics, at 320,000, and 53,500 in the suburbs. It was impossible to ascertain the exact quantities of merchandise imported, but an approximate table of returns for 1866, furnished by the Governor, included, amongst others, the following items:—Rice, 311,258 kokus; tea, 5779 piculs; paper, 134,000 bundles; floss silk, 22,500 bundles; vegetable wax, 47,290 cases; raw silk, 306 piculs; iron, 31,500 bundles; tobacco, 23,280 packages; and 1967 junks of 200 kokus burthen and upwards entered the port during that year. The traders of Osaka were divided into guilds, there being about two hundred, of which the secretary was invited to that of the foreign goods' merchants. Here he learned that this branch of trade was rapidly increasing, from the growing desire of the Japanese to purchase foreign wares, which were eagerly bought up as soon as landed. The difference between the Yokohama and Osaka prices of foreign imports ranged from ten to twenty per cent., and no additional duty was levied on goods brought from Yokohama, although there was a trifling tax on entering or leaving any daimio's territory. At that

time very little raw silk found its way into their market, the centre of the silk-weaving industry being at Kioto, thirty miles distant. In consequence of the river having a shallow bar, Osaka was inaccessible to large foreign ships, therefore as a place of direct trade it was comparatively worthless. Hiogo, however, only twelve miles by water, on the opposite shore of the bay, affords excellent anchorage, where vessels of a thousand tons can ride with safety within a few fathoms of the beach. Coal exists amongst the hills that rise behind the site of the settlement; but it is of a non-bituminous character, of inferior quality, and the seams very badly worked. In opening trade at this place there was little or no prejudice to overcome, as the traders and others were greatly in favour of foreign merchandise. As an instance of this, it was found that there were not less than forty photographers in the town, all of whom seemed well employed, and stated that their apparatus and chemicals came from Europe or America. Altogether there was no reason to see why foreign trade should not thrive there as it did at Yokohama. However, this has not been the case, and that settlement still keeps the lead of all the treaty ports, while the projected one at Osaka soon turned out a partial failure.

§ 352. *Commerce at Yokohama affected by the disturbed state of the country.*—In consequence of the internal disturbed state of affairs, trade at Yokohama was unsettled, and at times almost paralyzed, especially during the latter half of the year, when symptoms of a great revolution in the State were apparent. Previous to that, the tea and silk season, which closed its twelvemonth's course at the end of June, was reported on as comparing favourably with the preceding season. Although the average range of prices had been somewhat lower, yet the difference of exchange between dollars and native coin left a large advantage with native sellers—the rate being 314 itziboos against 255 per 100 dollars. The new season, commencing on the 1st of July, began therefore under favourable auspices for the export trade, as there were increased supplies, while the native teamen and silk merchants spoke of good crops in the interior. In imports the exchange had very materially interfered with operations. The buyers strove hard against paying more itziboos, while the sellers were equally stubborn in refusing payment in dollars. But although both had to give way

in order to do business, the buyers did so less than the sellers, the value of each coin being about weight for weight in silver. The low rate of the native currency, compared to what it had been, rendered business in foreign merchandise limited and heavy. Moreover, several times during the year, when there seemed a likelihood of some improvement in the value of the itziboo, the Siogoon's Government would glut the foreign money market with that coin to buy dollars, to obtain the means of paying for purchases of ships, dockyard materials, arms, ammunition, accoutrements, uniforms, and other warlike supplies for reorganizing their army, and forming the nucleus of a navy. On the whole, however, the total values of the foreign export and import trade exhibited a progressive increase on the previous year.

§ 353. *Trade at Nagasaki unsatisfactory, except in the sale of steamers.*—Commercial reports issued fortnightly by foreign merchants at the port of Nagasaki presented generally an unsatisfactory trade throughout the year. The same difficulties in exchange prevailed here as at Yokohama, which precluded the possibility of importers of merchandise making profitable sales, except in barter against native produce for export. New itziboos on an average were worth 335 per 100 dollars; while those of old coinage were worth from 12 to 13 per cent. more, but they never were given in payment for goods, and both were difficult to obtain. In the export produce-markets there was little activity, and holders of stocks stood out for high prices. Buyers of tea sometimes lost confidence, limiting their purchases until stocks accumulated, thereby causing holders to accept lower rates. Vegetable wax also accumulated in store, and, in the absence of much inquiry, prices declined. Supplies of silk came forward, but sales were slow. However, trade at Nagasaki did not languish during the hostile operations in the south, from being the nearest treaty port to the seat of war. On the contrary, the foreign merchants benefited immensely by the sale of steamers and sailing ships, besides munitions of war, which passed through some of their hands to belligerents of all parties. Scarcely a month elapsed but what some vessel was sold, either to the Siogoon or the great daimios. In one month alone the steamers 'Nepaul' and 'Emperor,' the barque 'Corea,' and schooner 'Alma,' were sold at highly remunerative prices; while the 'Ayrshire Lass'

and the 'Viola' were taken back by foreigners from the natives; showing the traffic in foreign ships to be the largest part of the trade at Nagasaki.

§ 354. *Statistics of steamers purchased by the Siogoon and daimios.*—On the subject of steamers and foreign-built sailing vessels sold in Japan, up to the summer of this year, an interesting statistical memorandum was drawn up by Mr. Groom of Nagasaki, and communicated to the North China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society by Dr. Macgowan, an American *savant* long resident in the Far East. The note furnishes a list of "The merchant vessels sold from the opening of the three ports of Hakodadi, Nagasaki, and Yokohama on July 1st, 1859;" giving the name, nationality, tonnage, price, and names of the purchasers. In all eighty-three vessels were sold, and with a few exceptions steamers, nearly the whole of them being converted into war-ships, carrying armaments of brass ordnance of native manufacture, and foreign rifled and smooth-bore ordnance, varying from 20-pounder to 60-pounder guns, and well manned and supplied with munitions of war. Of these, sixty sailed previously under the British flag; seventeen were American; three Prussian, and two Dutch; one was unknown. The tonnage of thirteen was not given, but the aggregate of the remainder was 25,400 tons, being an average of 363 tons, which, thirteen times added, gives a gross total of 30,119 tons. Four had no price given, while the total amount paid for seventy-nine was 5,770,000 dollars, or an average of 73,038 dollars, which, added four times, makes a total of 6,062,152 dollars, being equivalent to 1,363,984*l.*, an average of 16,435*l.* per vessel. Among the purchasers the names of twelve were not known to Mr. Groom, but those given show that the Siogoon's Government bought sixteen, all among the highest priced, of which the 'Ly-ee-moon' (British) topped the list at 195,000 dollars, and was destroyed by the French at Simanosaki. Among the daimios Satsuma was first, with sixteen ships attached to his name, but of lesser value, the highest figuring at 130,000 dollars, being the 'Fiery Cross,' flying the British flag, and sold by the same firm as the owners of the above-named boat, Jardine, Matheson, and Company. The remainder were bought by nineteen other daimios viz., Tosa, Kanga, Nagato, Tsikuzen, Owari, Idsumo, Aigo, Hizen, Awa, Etzizen, Buzen, Aki, Sendai, Kowotsuki, Kishiu, Kooroomi,

Gayshiu, Etakosui, and Boungo. This list did not include the 'Emperor,' armed steam yacht, presented by Lord Elgin to the Siogoon in the name of Her Majesty; or the gun-boat 'Fusi Yama,' procured at the exorbitant cost of 650,000 dollars from the United States Minister, General Pruyn; or the fine steam frigate 'Kai-yoo-Maroo,' honestly built by the Dutch Government at a reasonable cost, and several other men-of-war forming the Siogoon's fleet. With these he endeavoured to overawe the daimios; of whom Satsuma was the only one who possessed a regularly built war-vessel, and that was the British gun-boat 'Beagle,' bought by a merchant and sold to him as the 'Stork,' for 75,000 dollars. So that if the whole fleet of quasi-war-ships, including the real ones, had attempted an engagement with even the British squadron of ten sail, they could all have been sunk in an hour. By this time the 'Ocean' iron-clad was in Chinese waters, and she alone could have crushed the whole combined Japanese flotilla, without receiving the slightest damage from their pop-guns, compared to her eight-ton steel ordnance. This was abundantly evident to the astute native naval officers, for they never once showed a desire to engage in combat with a foreign man-of-war, although they showed pluck on one occasion in Yedo Bay, when two of their smartest vessels fought gallantly for an hour, and then made it a drawn battle. These considerations had due weight with Yoshi Hisa; and he calculated that if he could but hold his own until he might strengthen his squadron of real war-ships, he would destroy every steamer of his opponents, threaten their unprotected towns on the sea-coast, and bombard those that were fortified. But his enemies were equally astute, and saw the game he was playing, so they brought the revolution to a crisis before he could be too powerful to dictate his own terms.

CHAPTER XXI.*

1868.

RETROSPECT — STATE REVOLUTION — CIVIL WAR BEGUN — DECISIVE BATTLE OF FUSHIMI — DEFEAT AND FLIGHT OF THE EX-SIOGOON — ATTACK ON FOREIGNERS AT KOBE-HIOGO NEW SETTLEMENT.

§ 355. Retrospect; grievances of daimios at the monopoly of foreign trade by the Siogoons. § 356. Combination among them to accomplish a *coup d'état*. § 357. The opening of Osaka and Hiogo on the 1st of January inauspicious. § 358. Commencement of a state revolution by the seizure of the Mikado's person. § 359. Country in a state of anarchy, especially at Yedo and its environs. § 360. Naval engagement between two Japanese foreign-built ships of war. § 361. Devastating conflagration at Kanagawa. § 362. Assembling of the contending forces between Kioto and Osaka. § 363. Decisive battle of Fushimi, which Yoshi Hisa and his adherents lost through treachery. § 364. Flight of the last of the Siogoons to Yedo Castle. § 365. Attack upon foreigners at the newly-opened port of Hiogo. § 366. British Legation guard drive off the assailants and capture three field-pieces.

§ 355. *Retrospect—Grievances of the daimios at the monopoly of foreign trade by the Siogoons.*—Before entering upon the annals of this momentous year for Japan, it will be as well to cast a retrospective glance upon the salient points of the preceding years' history, to understand better the events of the revolution that follow. It has been shown in many places that the eighteen great feudal vassals of the Mikado, forming the highest class of nobility, while enjoying almost despotic power in their own provinces, possessed little or no influence in the administration of the Siogoon. Before the recent advent of foreigners at the treaty ports, this was a matter of small consideration, as far as their material interests were concerned. But when that took place through treaties with the Siogoons as the supposed monarchs of Japan, who opened no ports but what were under their immediate jurisdiction, these semi-independent daimios took alarm at the increasing power of one

* The subject matter of this chapter appeared in the 'Leisure Hour' for 1872.

in rank no higher than themselves, and who might aspire to the sovereignty of the realm. As each new port was opened, the Siogoon and his adherents profited largely by foreign commerce, from the heavy duties levied at the customs, and the arbitrary exchange between foreign and native currency, which was held as a Government monopoly. Not only did the Siogoons and their irresponsible administrations profit by these fiscal revenues, but the produce purchased by the foreigners from native merchants belonging to the provinces, having to pass through their ports, increased the trade at the expense of the great nobles at whose ports foreign ships were prohibited to enter. Moreover, while the Government were profiting by this state of affairs, the nobility found their incomes diminishing by increased expenditure arising from the greater cost of commodities consequent on the foreign demand for tea and silk. Under these circumstances, four of the most powerful daimios in the southern provinces combined to overthrow the administration of the Siogoons and obtain the sanction of the Mikado to abolish the office altogether.

§ 356. *Combination of daimios to accomplish a coup d'État.*—The first step undertaken by the daimios to lessen the power of the Siogoon was to have the law abrogated which required their presence at Yedo, where he reigned supreme, with their retainers and families, who were there in the light of hostages for obedience to his administration. This was effected by the head of the clan Etzizen, who represented a united income of upwards of a million kokus of rice. He headed a deputation of nobles to the Court of Kioto, and succeeded in having the obnoxious law rescinded. This was followed up by another blow at the growing power of the Siogoon, by Shimadzoo Saburo, the father of Satsuma, who influenced the Mikado's advisers—he being a minor of seventeen years of age—to issue a decree ordering the commander-in-chief to reside at Kioto instead of Yedo. The effect of these changes in the constitution was disastrous to the prosperity of the city of Yedo, the grandest and most populous city in Japan, if not in the whole of Eastern Asia. The great daimios, no longer compelled to keep up their establishments, withdrew their families and retainers to their provincial residences, where they felt a security and independence never attained before. Satsuma dismantled his *yashiki* at Yedo, a sort of castle, and rendered it

uninhabitable. Others followed his example, until the quarter of the city where they had been obliged to take up their abode was rendered tenantless by the tradespeople shutting up their shops and removing the merchandise, either to follow their customers or seek new ones in smaller cities where they could live at less expense. Where formerly a busy throng of industrious citizens were plying their trades, numberless beggars were now seen. The poverty-struck look of many of the houses, and the deserted condition of the streets, were melancholy to look upon. The condition of Yedo and the surrounding district during these evil days was not only pitiable, but elements of danger arose from the number of the disbanded *Ronins* already alluded to. As the open port of Yokohama is only eighteen miles distant from Yedo, the foreign community became alarmed at the state of affairs, especially when the natives accused them of being the cause of all this inevitable distress. The Government officers concealed the state of the country from the consulates as much as they possibly could, but they were compelled at last to intimate that real danger existed for foreigners who went on expeditions to any distance from the settlement. The house of *Whatamoto*, or mayor daimio, a place of common resort for foreign tourists, was attacked by a considerable body of *Ronins*, and completely gutted of everything of value. Other outrages were committed by these disbanded retainers, until at last they set fire to the palace or castle of the Siogoon, which forms an extensive series of fortified buildings in the heart of the city, almost a town within itself. It is divided into two portions, named the *Siro*, and the *Soto-siro*, of which the former is the main part. The fire destroyed a building within the Siro enclosure, called the *Ninomaru*, which was a strongly fortified place for retirement in case of need during an attack on the castle. This was totally consumed, evidently the act of incendiaries who wished to destroy the defences of the Siogoon should he attempt to take up his residence again in Yedo. All this time he remained at Osaka, which is situated about 200 miles west of that city on the island of Nip-pon, or mainland.

§ 357. *Opening of Osaka and Hiogo on the 1st of January inauspicious.*—Affairs generally throughout Japan were in this unsettled state at the commencement of 1868, and every day they assumed a more threatening aspect. At this time the

two ports of Hiogo and Osaka, on the Inland Sea, forming the outports of the old capital of Kioto, were opened to foreign commerce in pursuance of the treaties with the Siogoon which two years before had obtained the assent of His Majesty the Mikado. They were formally proclaimed open to foreigners on the 1st of January. The condition of the first settlers was very unpleasant. Their houses were of an inferior description, and provisions of all kinds were scarce and dear. The main settlement was located at Kobè, a miserable fishing-village two miles from Hiogo. The foreign Ministers were generally censured for selecting a site so inferior in every respect to that of the town itself. To make matters worse, trade could not be commenced, owing to the disturbed condition of the country. Under these circumstances, precautions were taken by the British and French Envoys to assemble all the available naval forces at their disposal in the harbour of Hiogo; the anchorage at Osaka being dangerous for large vessels. The distance between the two ports is not more than twelve miles, so that the fleet was in daily communication with both of them. The opening of Osaka was the most important concession upon this occasion, as it stands on a commanding site at the entrance of the river leading to the metropolis some thirty miles up the stream. Thus in securing the right of residence in that city, the representatives of the Treaty Powers were on the way to direct intercourse with the court of the real monarch of Japan at Kioto, whom hitherto they could only approach through the medium of the Siogoon and his Government.

§ 358. *Commencement of the State revolution by the seizure of the Mikado's person.*—Whether the appearance of the foreign war-ships in the bay produced a feeling against the Siogoon amongst the daimios at Kioto, where they were assembled at the time, has not transpired; but there is little doubt that the opening of Osaka and the presence of the fleet brought affairs to a climax. All we can gather from the meagre accounts of the transactions that took place would imply that the Siogoon was endeavouring to obtain from the Mikado's regency the strict maintenance of the treaties he had entered into with Foreign Powers, and to allow him and his administration to carry out their provisions as they had hitherto done. To the latter arrangement the daimios hostile to the Siogoon were opposed, as it would have the effect of reinstating him in power,

and probably lead to the obnoxious obligation of sending family hostages to reside at Yedo. From what subsequently transpired, it does not appear that the daimios were unfavourable to opening the new ports to foreigners, but they objected to the control over them being in the hands of the Siogoon. On the other hand, it would seem that the regency of the youthful Mikado was favourable to the policy he had proposed. Seeing this, the three leading daimios of the realm—Satsuma, Chosiu, and Tosa—with their kinsmen and retainers, determined on a *coup d'état*, and at once seized the person of their young sovereign, over whom they assumed a superior control to the members of the regency. On this the Siogoon fled from Kioto, and took refuge in a fortified residence belonging to him at Osaka; where he sought for protection from his foreign allies on board the fleet in harbour. The foreign Ministers held a solemn audience, and tendered their unanimous sympathy with Yoshi Hisa—who may be considered the last of the Siogoons—and to whom the strict observance of the treaties was due. In his reply he protested against the recent acts of the daimios at Kioto, assuring the Ministers that the honour of Japan was involved in the maintenance of the treaties and conventions he had entered into. At the same time the Ministers of the Treaty Powers gave a distinct and solemn assurance to the Japanese that they would not in any way interfere in the revolution that had begun. In view of the struggle for supremacy, the Envoys made no efforts for a settlement of their relations with either of the opposing parties, but remained at Osaka, watching the progress of affairs, until the assembling of an extraordinary council of Daimios to consider what form the new Government should assume.

§ 359. *Anarchy predominant, especially in Yedo.*—The country was now without a recognized administration, and anarchy began to show itself in the cities and provinces where the retainers of the daimios were most numerous. At Yedo especially, as the former seat of the late Siogoon's powers, disturbances of a serious nature took place. The enclosure of the principal palace, where he had held his court, was broken into by a band of armed retainers, on the 16th of January. Here resided the dowagers of deceased Siogoons, one of whom, it was reported, was a sister of Satsuma, and these men were his retainers, who came to take her forcibly away from her sanctuary. Whether

they succeeded in the attempt does not appear; but it is stated on native authority that these sanguinary ruffians massacred the other dowagers and their female attendants, and then set fire to their residence. The conflagration spread to other parts of this extensive castle—which is surrounded by a moat, and a fortification of solid masonry—and destroyed many other buildings. Two days after this outrage, the soldiers of the late Siogoon's army, at that time in Yedo, retaliated upon the property and adherents of his opponents. They attacked the palatial residence of Satsuma, where a bloody fight took place between the contending parties, in which it was reported that a hundred and forty of the daimio's retainers were killed, and one hundred and sixty wounded; while the Imperial troops lost from fifty to sixty killed and wounded.

§ 360. *Naval engagement between two Japanese ships of war.*—As this was a very dangerous proceeding against the followers of the chief daimio in power, the officers of the regular army disavowed any intention of quarrelling with Satsuma or his people, declaring that they only wished to dislodge bands of robbers who were located in the places they attacked and destroyed. Be that as it may, some of Satsuma's men made their way out of the city to a small steamer belonging to him, and steamed out into the Bay of Yedo, for the purpose of reaching their master's territory at Kagosima. They were followed by a war vessel of the Siogoon, and a fight took place within view of the foreign settlement at Yokohama, where the ships were handled in gallant style. A reporter of the local journal went off in a row-boat immediately the firing began, and got so near the scene of action as to be able to see much of it pretty distinctly. The ships engaged were a large two-funnelled steamer flying the rising-sun flag—the emblem of Japan—known to be the 'Kaitenmaroo,' and a much smaller one. Both steamers were barque rigged. They came out of Yedo harbour, firing at long ranges, the larger steamer appearing to be in chase of the small one. At three P.M., when about nine miles from Yokohama, the latter stopped and allowed his enemy to come to close quarters, when they engaged each other desperately for nearly an hour; the big one steaming round the small one several times, and firing three shots to one of the other. The firing was very wild on both sides. About four they separated again, and the smoke clearing away, the reporter

was able to see that the 'Kaitenmaroo' was either crippled or unwilling to pursue farther, for the other steamed away unmolested and disappeared past Uraga. Part of her bulwarks were shot away, and her foreyard hung as if injured. The 'Kaitenmaroo' seemed damaged in her machinery, for she was evidently in difficulties on her way back.

§ 361. *Devastating conflagration at Kanagawa.*—Shortly after these incidents of the revolution at Yedo, another conflagration took place at Kanagawa, the native town facing the foreign settlement at Yokohama, on the opposite shore of the harbour. This occurred on the 31st of January, in the depth of winter, which is rather severe in these comparatively low latitudes, and thus created great distress among the industrious inhabitants. Suspicious-looking strangers were seen in Kanagawa on that day, whose account of themselves was singularly deficient in detail; though there appeared no sufficient reason for putting them under arrest. Meanwhile, the wind got up in the afternoon, and increased into a stiff breeze. Suddenly flames were seen from the Yokohama side of the harbour to burst out simultaneously in four places. The long single street between a bluff and the sea-shore, which composes the town of Kanagawa, was in a blaze in an incredibly short space of time, and steadily the fire crept on along the numerous villages which line the main road towards Yedo, until three miles of houses were burning. An avenue of trees, where Mr. Richardson met his death in 1862, and a space of open ground, fortunately made a gap in the long line of dwellings, else the fire would have swept away everything along the road until stopped by the River Logo, six miles farther on. The spectacle, as seen by the foreign residents at Yokohama, from the opposite shore, was grand in the extreme. In seven hours about fourteen hundred houses were destroyed, extending along nearly three miles of road. All this time it was freezing hard, and night had set in, to add its horrors to the scene among the burnt-out inhabitants, whose efforts were ineffectual to stop the conflagration. The distress of the population, numbering some ten thousand, thus suddenly turned out into the bare fields during a black frost, may be imagined as something dreadful by Europeans. The fact that no one was found frozen to death next day will be matter of surprise to those who do not know the Japanese. They are used, however, to be burnt out periodically, from their

dwellings being chiefly constructed of wood and paper, especially in that district subject to earthquakes, and within view of Fusi Yama, where buildings of stone and brick would be dangerous. Consequently, in such cases they have discovered that an efficient *tente d'abri* can be formed by setting up a pair of shutters edge to edge over a mat, with another to the windward end of the structure. Under such shelter, hardy people like these can pass a night or two without much inconvenience. One remarkable feature in the desolate picture, which could not fail to strike the most careless observer as he rode over the mounds of calcined tiles and grey wood ashes, was the way in which the Japanese fireproof storehouses had stood the conflagration. With the exception of three or four at most, out of more than one hundred and sixty, these admirable little mud-built storehouses were uninjured by the fire; and thereby a great amount of the most valuable property in Kanagawa was preserved. On the day following the fire, some of the foreign residents got up a subscription in Yokohama for relieving the most destitute of the sufferers, and in a few hours two thousand dollars were collected, which were most judiciously expended in blankets and rice, and this timely help was very thankfully received.

§ 362. *Assembling of the contending forces between Kioto and Osaka.*—While this state of anarchy prevailed at Yedo and its environs—reminding us of the feuds between the Guelphs and Ghibellines, or the Capulets and Montagues—events of greater importance in the progress of the revolution were occurring at Kioto and Osaka. Between the latter named city and the town of Hira-kata, about eleven miles distant, Yoshi Hisa and the other chiefs of the Tokugawa family, together with Idzumi and other daimios who declared in favour of the ex-Siogoon, had assembled all their available forces, reported to be about thirty thousand strong. With this army they advanced upon Kioto, the old metropolis, determined to give battle to the forces of the confederate daimios, who, on their part, were equally prepared to fight for the position they had won. We are not in possession of the strength of the opposing force, but, from what subsequently transpired, we conclude that it was inferior in numbers, though it might have been better equipped in European war material for an engagement in the field. This army was composed of retainer-soldiery belonging chiefly to the

southern confederate nobles, Satsuma, Chosiu, Geyshiu, and Tosa, and partly to Owari and Etzizen, two feudatories related to the Tokugawa family, who had deserted his cause and remained at Kioto to defend the person of the youthful Mikado, in case of an attack on that city. Altogether, it may be said that the combatants brought into the field by the contending factions were not far short of fifty thousand men.

§ 363. *Decisive battle of Fushimi; ex-Siogoon defeated through treachery.*—For three days a sanguinary struggle was maintained, in which the fate of Japan stood trembling in the balance, and was ultimately settled by an act of treachery. The battle commenced with an affair of outposts at Hira-kata, in which the ex-Siogoon's troops were successful, pushing rapidly forward until they met the main body of the confederate army near Fushimi, a town distant about eleven miles from Kioto. Here a furious struggle ensued, in which Yoshi Hisa's force was obliged to fall gradually back on the fortified town of Yodo, where they passed the night of the 27th January. On the following day Satsuma assumed the offensive, and a second day's hard fighting ensued without any decisive result. It would appear, however, that the losses in action were heavy on both sides, requiring a partial cessation of hostilities. Accordingly, on the 29th, Yoshi Hisa, finding his position untenable at Yodo, abandoned the place with his whole force; and, in order that it should not harbour the enemy, the castle was destroyed. He then retired unmolested on another stronghold, named Hashimoto, six miles farther in his rear. Resuming the offensive next day from this base of operations, he succeeded in driving his opponents rapidly from Yodo, nearly half way to Fushimi, and the chances were in his favour of gaining a victory. At this critical juncture the daimio Idzumo, whom he deemed a staunch ally, deserted with his whole force to the enemy. It at once became apparent that this defection was preconcerted, and that the retreat to Hashimoto, urged by that chief, was a stratagem based on the treacherous intent, as Yoshi Hisa's men found a large body of the enemy in their rear, cutting off the retreat to Osaka. A rout ensued, causing the defeated army and their leaders to make a hasty and disastrous flight.

§ 364. *Flight of the last of the Siogoons to Yedo Castle.*—Arrived at Osaka, it was abundantly evident to the defeated

ex-Siogoon that his power and *prestige* were passing from him, and the only course left was to continue the flight to his last stronghold at Yedo. Accordingly, he left during the night of his arrival, and went on board a foreign man-of-war, thence to his own frigate, the 'Kayomaru,' from whence he issued instructions for the Governor of Hiogo and officials to follow him. He ultimately reached Yedo on the 4th of February, after intimating to the foreign representatives and residents at the new treaty ports that he would no longer be responsible for their safety. He entered the halls of his castle at Yedo with a choice band of followers in a very disconsolate state, and afterwards secluded himself with his family in one of the strongest quarters well guarded, and every possible precaution was taken against any sudden attack or incendiary fires. The defences of the city were at the same time strengthened, and numerous ward gates, constructed at *points d'appui*, to cut off the communications, which had been destroyed in the fights between the troops and retainers, were restored.

§ 365. *Attack upon foreigners at the new port of Hiogo.*—On the flight of Yoshi Hisa from Osaka, the city was for some time in the hands of an uncontrollable mob, who seemed to be enraged at him and his foreign allies. They sacked and burnt his residence there, and committed depredations on the premises of all who were known to be his adherents. This state of anarchy might have assumed larger proportions, but the daimios in power at Kiofo marched a strong armed force into the city and restored order. At the same time it was evident to the foreign Ministers and residents at Osaka that it would be dangerous to remain there; consequently they retired to Kobé, the site of the new settlement at Hiogo. That there were grounds for the apprehension of danger very soon became evident. On the day after their arrival, a body of some hundred and fifty Japanese, well armed, and having field-pieces, entered Kobé under the command of an officer in the service of a great daimio named Bizen, a confederate of Satsuma. This was a detachment from the main body of retainers, some six hundred strong, who were two miles in the rear at Hiogo, evidently intent on quarrelling with the foreigners, who were considered as the allies of the Siogoon, and consequently the enemies of the confederate daimios. As they advanced into Kobé they glanced

around in a scowling manner at the strangers. At the cry "*Staniero*,"—"Fall down!"—these bloodthirsty braggadocios expected every unarmed person to fall on his knees with his forehead touching the ground until they passed on. All the natives present at once complied with this ignominious custom, but, of course, the foreigners encountered in their march remained standing. The first one met was an Englishman, whom they instantly set upon, but he managed to get away. Shortly afterwards they came across two French sailors, at one of whom a spear-thrust was only saved from being fatal by his comrade seizing the sharp blade and turning it aside, being severely cut in the act. The sailors then ran for their lives, the Japanese firing in pursuit, not only at them but indiscriminately at every foreigner who appeared. Fortunately two only were hit, a French marine, and a seaman from the United States ship 'Oneida.'

§ 366. *British Legation guard drive off the assailants and capture three field-guns.*—The scene of this outrage was the main street of Kobé. Sir Harry Parkes, the British Minister, accompanied by one of his escort, was crossing the plain marked out as the future settlement when the firing commenced. He at once ran to the Consulate and gave the alarm. Several bullets whistled past him without injury, and other foreigners had narrow escapes from them. The "assembly" agreed upon in time of danger was sounded at the British Consulate, and a detachment of the 9th Regiment turned out immediately. After marching a couple of miles, they came in sight of the armed retainers, who, as soon as they perceived they were followed, turned round upon their pursuers. A skirmish then took place, in which our troops were assisted by a body of American and French marines, with the mounted escort attached to the British legation. When the Japanese made their stand, a brisk fire was opened by the force in skirmishing order, whereupon they broke up into small parties and fled towards the mountains at the back of Hiogo, leaving behind three brass field-pieces. A small party then started in pursuit, and found the road strewed with the baggage that had been hastily abandoned by the retainers in their flight. From these it was evident they were well appointed, not only in weapons of destruction, but the civilized equipments for healing

the wounded. Here was to be seen the equipage of the army surgeon—knives and saws, and neatly enveloped packages of medicines. Such was their haste in flight that some of them left their sandals behind. It was afterwards found that the main body of Bizen's men made their escape during the night to the neighbouring hills.

CHAPTER XXII.*

1868 (CONTINUED).

MASSACRE OF FRENCH SEAMEN NEAR OSAKA — YOSHI HISA ABANDONS THE STRUGGLE, WHILE THE NORTHERN DAIMIOS CONTINUE IT UNDER IDZU WITH SUCCESS — DESPERATE CONFLICT AT YEDO.

§ 367. Massacre of eleven French seamen near Osaka. § 368. Decapitation of the Japanese who committed the outrage and massacre. § 369. Yoshi Hisa abandons the sanguinary struggle with the confederate daimios. § 370. Decree of the Mikado, ordering the punishment of Yoshi Hisa and his adherents. § 371. He complies with the terms of the decree and retires into banishment at Mito. § 372. The city of Yedo formally transferred to the Mikado's High Commissioner. § 373. His Majesty surveys the allied fleet at anchor in Osaka Bay. § 374. A coalition of northern daimios to continue the war against the southern confederates. § 375. Idzu in command of the united forces attacks their troops, and beats them in three engagements. § 376. Yoshi Hisa ordered by the Mikado to return to Yedo. § 377. Desperate conflict in the cemetery of the Siogoons, between Tokugawa men and Mikado's troops, with great slaughter. § 378. Confederates, becoming alarmed, remove Yoshi Hisa from Mito to Tsurunga.

§ 367. *Massacre of eleven French sailors near Osaka.*—This outrage was the precursor of a still more sanguinary attack upon foreigners by the armed retainers of the confederate daimios, showing the hatred entertained by that dangerous class against Europeans and Americans. Unfortunately, upon this occasion eleven French sailors fell victims to Japanese treachery. The narrative of the occurrence is briefly as follows:—The river on which Osaka stands has several channels at the entrance. Hitherto the only one navigated by foreigners has a dangerous bar, where Admiral Bell, of the United States navy, Commander Reid, and a boat's crew of ten men, were drowned while endeavouring to cross it. In order to have this part of the coast properly surveyed, the French Admiral of the allied fleet gave orders to the captain of the 'Dupleix' to carry out his instructions, and the French Minister was to accompany

* The subject-matter of this chapter appeared in the 'Leisure Hour' for 1872.

him. Everything went on satisfactorily, and the bar was crossed in a steam launch. While the survey was going on, that boat and its crew were left at Sakai, a considerable town three miles from Osaka; a place which, by treaty, was especially mentioned as free of access to foreigners. Several of the men belonging to the launch went on shore and spoke to some children, to whom they gave biscuits, and the people seemed to be friendly. These men returned to the boat, when the engineer and the boatswain went on shore. Two Japanese officers came up to them, and, taking them by the arm, appeared to wish to show them something. They had gone but a few yards when one of the officers shouted, and at once about forty armed men surrounded them. The boatswain thrust aside those holding him, and rushed on board the launch, the Japanese following to the water's edge, firing at the launch, shooting dead one of the engineers who was on board as he was trying to start the engine. The first engineer, carried to the water's edge in the rush, jumped in and was fired at, but dived under the launch, and remained hidden between her and a native boat for twenty minutes. Hearing no more firing, he peeped up on shore, and saw that all the miscreants were gone. No doubt they thought that every one in the boat was massacred, and had gone for instruments to destroy the steam-launch. All the sailors as they jumped overboard to escape were wounded or killed. As one of them was clinging to the sea-wall, a ruffian thrust the muzzle of a rifle against his head, and blew the poor fellow's brains out. Another man was so mutilated by one of the Japanese trident-shaped weapons as almost to prevent recognition. The engineer, the only one unhurt, climbed into the launch, but found that the engine was useless, the steam-pipe being cut open by a bullet. He then called upon his poor wounded messmates to assist him in getting the launch off. One man was shot through both arms, another had his intestines pierced from side to side by a ball, another was shot through the chest, and two were dead (two of the wounded men died soon after). Yet those brave wounded men took up their oars, and managed to get outside the basin, where they were able to hoist sail and steer towards their ship; when they were met on the way by all the boats of the 'Dupleix,' fully manned and armed, coming to their assistance.

§ 368. *Decapitation of the Japanese who committed the outrage and massacre.*—The upshot of these outrages was the execution of the leaders and perpetrators of them. In the first case, the officer, Ikada-Ise, commanding Bizen's men, who fired upon the unarmed foreigners at Kobé, was decapitated in a temple at Hiogo, in presence of seven Europeans and the like number of Japanese high officials. Out of consideration for his rank he was allowed to commit *Hara-kiri*, or abdominal suicide, before the executioner made the blow that severed his head from his body. The unfortunate man met his fate without bravado, and endeavoured to justify the crime imputed to him, on the grounds of his behaviour being in accordance with the Japanese military code. Journalists in Japan and in England have commented with severity upon this "judicial murder," as it was termed, being sanctioned by the Foreign Ministers. Whether it was an act of policy or not to do so, we shall not remain to discuss, but most of the circumstances surrounding the second and murderous outrage on the French sailors—which occurred five days after the decapitation of the officer—support the conviction that it was done to avenge themselves upon persons of the same nation who had been the chief cause in bringing one of their privileged class to execution. For the second outrage twenty-two delinquents were brought out for decapitation at Hiogo, in presence of the French Minister, M. Roches, and the Admiral of the French squadron. After the Japanese officers and nine men had been beheaded, M. Roches interfered, declaring himself satisfied, and obtained pardon for the remainder. Besides this punishment, a sum, equivalent to thirty thousand pounds sterling, was paid as an indemnity for the behoof of the relations of those massacred. It is satisfactory to state that a stop was put to these outrages by a decree of the Mikado, disgracing the perpetrator and his relatives from their rank, which was considered by this peculiar people as more to be dreaded than death.

§ 369. *Yoshi Hisa abandons the sanguinary struggle with the confederate daimios.*—After the disastrous defeat through treachery, and the flight of Yoshi Hisa and his forces, the progress of the revolution tended to consolidate the power of the confederate daimios, and the dissolution of the Gorojio and other public bodies belonging to the abolished post of Siogoon. A decree, signed by the Mikado, was published, pronouncing a

sentence of outlawry against its late occupant, ordering him to commit abdominal suicide as a punishment for his offences. Though it was the policy of Satsuma and his confederates—who held supreme control over the Mikado—to issue such an edict, yet a general sympathy prevailed among the daimios for the last representative of a powerful element in the body politic, besides his own personal worth, which in time would influence them to relax the sentence. Knowing this, Yoshi Hisa prudently awaited the current of events at Yedo, without retiring from life by the unpleasant route to the Japanese *hades* by the *Hara-kiri*. Although a brave man at the head of his troops, it is represented, on good authority, that he was a man of peace, having profound respect for his sovereign, the Mikado, against whose sacred standard he never would lead his forces. Seeing, however, that the acts of his opponents were sanctioned by that supreme authority, and that he was disgraced in the eyes of his royal master, he bowed in submission to his fate, formally resigning all claim to authority, and was prepared to obey the more lenient behests of the Mikado, which it was understood would be the consequences of his obedience to the new *régime*, through the intervention of his relatives, Owari and Etzizen. Accordingly, the Mikado issued an edict, through his reformed administration, relaxing the severity of his original decree, of which the following is a translation.

§ 370. *Decree of the Mikado ordering the punishment of Yoshi Hisa and his adherents.*—"The conduct of Tokugawa Yoshi Hisa having proceeded to such an extreme as to be properly called an insult to the whole nation, and having caused the deepest pain to the mind of the Mikado, both sea and land forces were sent to punish him. Hearing, however, that he is sincerely penitent, and lives in retirement, the excess of the royal compassion shall be exhausted, and the following commands be enjoined upon him—let him be respectfully obedient to them.—A period of eleven days is granted to him in which to comply with all these orders. As this period is already a matter of great clemency, upon no account will any other request or complaint be listened to. The Mikado, having established both his clemency and authority, will not allow any claims of alliance to have any influence with him. So be promptly obedient, and resort to no subterfuges:—Art. 1.—

Yoshi Hisa, having, on the twelfth month of the last year and afterwards, insulted the Mikado, attacked the Imperial city, and fired upon the Imperial flag, was guilty of a most heinous crime. The army was accordingly sent out to pursue and punish him. But as he has manifested sincere contrition and obedience; has shut himself up in retirement, and begs that his crime may be pardoned; in consideration of the no small merit of his family, which, since the time of his ancestors, for more than two hundred years, has administered the affairs of the Government; and more especially of the accumulated meritorious services of Mito Ze-Dainagon (the father of Yoshi Hisa),—for these various considerations, of which we are most profoundly sensible, we give him the following commands, which, if he obeys, we will deal leniently with him; grant that the house of Tokugawa be established [*i.e.*, not expunged from the list of daimios], remit the capital punishment [his crimes deserve], but command him to go to the castle of Mito, and live there shut up in retirement. Art. II.—The castle [of the Siogoon at Yedo] to be vacated and delivered over to the daimio Owari. Art. III.—All the ships of war, cannon, and small arms to be delivered up; when a proper proportion shall be returned [to the head of the house of Tokugawa, who is reduced to the rank of an ordinary daimio.] Art. IV.—The retainers living in the castle [at Yedo] shall move out and go into retirement. Art. V.—To all those who have aided Yoshi Hisa, although their crimes are worthy of the severest punishment, the sentence of death shall be remitted; but they are to receive such other punishment as you shall decide on. Let this be reported to the Imperial Government. This, however, does not include those persons who have an income of more than ten thousand kokus. The Government will punish such."

§ 371. *Yoshi Hisa complies with the terms of the decree, and retires into banishment at Mito.*—Notwithstanding the stringent terms of the decree, Yoshi Hisa accepted the conditions imposed upon him by his sovereign, as a loyal and repentant subject. It was hard, however, to yield up the practically regal position he had held, and his ancestors before him, for more than two centuries, and to retire into obscurity,—an act tantamount to the deposition of a European monarch. The hardest feature in the case was the fact that in him the glory

of the Siogoons should be extinguished. This alone, under ordinary circumstances, would have led him to commit the *Hara-kiri* voluntarily, to atone for the disgrace it had brought upon himself and family. But Yoshi Hisa was of the advanced school in Japan, and his intercourse with foreigners had rubbed the prejudices of his country from him to a great extent. Moreover, when he accepted the post of Siogoon, on the sudden death of his predecessor about two years previously, he did so reluctantly, as belonging to one of three families descended from Iyeyas, who were eligible. Yet when he held power he performed the duties of his office as a brave, intelligent, enlightened, and liberal-minded young noble, who would compare favourably with his compeers among the European aristocracy of birth or of political talent. Instead, therefore, of abandoning himself to the fatalism of his race, he exerted his political foresight to review the position of affairs, and saw that an inevitable change had revolutionized the governing classes of Japan, through the influence of foreign intercourse, which in time would work a more liberal policy in the exclusive system of government. He saw also that by yielding to the force of circumstances he might yet attain office, and restore his family to that influential position among the daimios to which they were entitled. Accordingly, he left Yedo at the beginning of May for the city of Mito, which was assigned to him as a temporary residence. He was attended by a bodyguard of four hundred men drilled by the French, and twelve hundred Japanese troops, an escort so strong being required, as it was suspected that a smaller force would have been attacked. His wives and family remained at Yedo, but not in the ancient fortress of the Siogoons; they were removed to the *Yashiki*, or official residence of the daimio Mito.

§ 372. *The city of Yedo formally transferred to the Mikado's High Commissioner.*—As the last of the Siogoons took his departure from the capital established by his ancestors, which had multiplied in population, wealth, and extent far beyond the royal metropolis of Kioto, an Imperial High Commissioner marched into Yedo, and took possession of the city in the name of the Mikado. This functionary, named Ohara Sakino Gijiu, holding the rank of *kuge*, entered the castle of Yedo on the 3rd of May. He was accompanied by a numerous escort of armed retainers belonging to the forces of Satsuma, Hizen,

and Awa, all picked men and armed with Enfield rifles. The bodyguard of the Commissioner was armed with Spencer and Henry rifles. Before him were carried the ensign and standard of the Mikado. It was evident that he had the power of life and death in his hands, for on the roadside was to be seen the head of a man decapitated by his orders. This was the head of a priest who had concealed himself at a place on the road named Tostka, for the purpose of listening to the conversation of the Commissioner while there addressing the captains of his retinue, and who had suffered the penalty due to a spy for his indiscretion. In all probability he was a spy from the superiors of his class—a body not only numerous, but highly influential in Japan—who were represented at the Court of Kioto by a grand priest, possessed of ecclesiastical power only second to that of the monarch. From the little that has transpired during the revolution, in connection with the ecclesiastical element in the State, it would appear that they were in favour of the old *régime*, and opposed to the Mikado disturbing his sacred authority by mingling himself up with the temporal affairs. The grounds for this belief are based upon a step taken by the grand priest at Kioto, never before witnessed in Japan, of issuing a manifesto declaring that the Mikado had overstepped his constitutional and religious authority by taking part so actively in the political and secular affairs belonging to the province of the Siogoon. This alleged proclamation would support the old idea of there being a "spiritual emperor;" but the information on that head being distilled through foreign rumours, leads us to the conclusion that priestly interference in the revolution was trifling.

373. *His Majesty the Mikado surveys the allied fleet in Osaka Harbour.*—Be that as it may, if anything necessary to divest His Majesty the Mikado of his unmundane character was wanting hitherto in the revolutionary movement, that transpired in the month of April, when he not only emerged from his seclusion at Kioto, but took up his residence at Osaka. Here the youthful monarch was enchanted with the sight of the foreign ships of war in harbour, and on the 18th he ventured his sacred person on board a small steamer—the 'Nagasaki'—and in her passed in review the magnificent fleet of British, French, Dutch, and American vessels that lay at anchor. On the following day, one of His Majesty's uncles and a suite of State officials and

daimios visited the French frigate 'Dupleix,' and were received by its gallant captain in a hospitable manner, to the satisfaction of all the Japanese. It was reported, at the time of these visits, that the youthful Mikado—who was then in his nineteenth year—expressed himself so delighted with the foreign ships, and had such a grand idea of their warlike strength, that he would have no objection to throw open the whole of Japan to the Treaty Powers they belonged to, and allow their people to trade with and travel among his subjects. Of course this was the natural ebullition of feeling the youth experienced at the novelties before him, and was not to be considered as of diplomatic importance. However, it was satisfactory to know that the supreme ruler of the realm entertained such friendly disposition towards us. Moreover, the new Government had publicly notified that the Mikado had undertaken to carry out the treaties with foreigners in their integrity, and commanded Japanese subjects to abstain from lawless acts against foreigners, under pains and penalties of the severest kind. Seeing this friendly disposition, it was clearly the policy of the Foreign Ministers to support the new order of things, without interfering with the internal affairs of the country. This was done to the letter; and though all of them sympathized with the ex-Siogoon—especially the French Minister, who was financially interested—yet, on the whole, foreigners had reason to congratulate themselves, rather than otherwise, at his overthrow, and the substitution of a more legitimate administration.

§ 374. *A coalition of northern daimios combine to oppose the south-western confederacy.*—Thus far the revolution was progressing successfully, and everything seemed perfectly quiet in Japan at the commencement of May. But if Yoshi Hisa had accepted with humility the terms of submission, his partisans who held office from him as Siogoon, and who still retained their military and naval posts, with the forces under their command, appear not to have been in the same mood. The admiral in command of the Japanese fleet of foreign men-of-war at the time anchored in Yedo Bay refused to deliver up the vessels to the Mikado's Commissioner, although he presented an order from his late master to obey the commands of his lawful sovereign. He left Yedo Harbour for a port on the east coast of Nip-pon, to the north of that latitude, where a new coalition of nobles was assembled to dispute the authority of their rivals in

power. It must here be noted that the confederate daimios who accomplished the *coup d'état* were all chiefs of south-western provinces—that is, generally speaking, provinces to the south and west of Yedo, as the geographical centre of Japan, according to Japanese topography. Before us is the government map of that city, admirably executed, on a scale extending to a superficies of forty square feet, whereon the central point is fixed at *Nip-pon Bashi*, "or Bridge of Japan," from whence all topographical distances are calculated. In the revolutionary movement of the daimios, none of the leading feudatories north of that point took an active part. But as the deposed Siogoon was connected with them by feudal ties, they espoused his cause, and viewed with jealousy, if not with alarm, the increasing power of their rivals in the south and west, without their obtaining any equivalent benefit. Consequently, when the confederate daimios assumed power, excluding them from any participation in the new administration, they combined to arrest their progress by force of arms; and as Yoshi Hisa had fully resolved on retiring from their party, they determined to select a representative who might yet upset the rule of the youthful Mikado. Such was the condition of affairs in the provinces north of Yedo, when the ex-Siogoon's Admiral arrived with the fleet under his command, to join the new coalition.

§ 375. *Idzu attacks the Mikado's troops, and beats them in three engagements.*—One of the Fudai daimios of this party, named Idzu, was the first to show fight against the confederate force under the Mikado's flag. About three leagues north of Yedo a fortress which commanded the approaches to the city in that direction was garrisoned by the confederates. On the 10th of May, Idzu attacked this position, drove the enemy from it with great slaughter, and captured the fortress. Reinforcements came up from Yedo to the defeated garrison, and a second engagement took place on the 17th, when Idzu again obtained a victory. On that occasion it is reported that eight hundred of the Mikado's troops were killed and wounded, and three hundred taken prisoners, who were speedily beheaded by their captors. Following these successes, with his own retainers strengthened by accessions from his northern allies, Idzu advanced upon Yedo, and reached a camp within a league and a half of the city, where a strong body of the enemy was posted. He attacked them on the 22nd, and defeated them

also with great slaughter. Several other skirmishes took place in the neighbourhood of Yedo, all of which were won by the northern forces, and, but for the enormous circumference of the city, Yedo itself would have been invested. There was, indeed, a rumour at the time that a brigade of their combined forces had reached its outskirts by a flank movement for the purpose of cutting off the retreat of the Mikado's troops defeated in the last engagement, and these were waiting the arrival of their victorious comrades to invest the city. This, however, did not take place, but incendiary fires in the suburbs showed that the northern insurgents were close to the fortifications of Yedo. It was reported also that the daimios of the new coalition had dispatched a protest to the Mikado, signed by Idzu, Kanga, Sendai, Namboo, and others, to the effect that they would not yield allegiance to any new form of government—meaning thereby that they would not permit Yedo to be held by the troops of the south-western daimios, or be under the administration of Satsuma and his colleagues.

§ 376. *Yoshi Hisa ordered by the Mikado to return to Yedo.*—Whether this was the true purport of the protest we have no documentary evidence to show, but it is certain that the remonstrances of the northern coalition, backed by the successes of their forces, had great weight with the southern confederacy and the Mikado's new administration. Accordingly it was deemed advisable, in order to restore peace and give strength to the Government, that the decree of banishment issued against Yoshi Hisa should be rescinded, and that he be restored to favour by the Mikado ordering his return to Yedo, but not to resume the power he formerly held as Siogoon. The following is a translation of the decree announcing this fact to the officers of the Mikado, dated in June:—"Instructions have been issued by the *Daisosai* (Prime Minister) that, in view of Tokugawa Yoshi Hisa having retired to Mito, and repented of his late offence with unbounded reverence proceeding from the bottom of his heart, it is the royal will, in the exercise of extraordinary clemency, that he be recalled to the castle of Yedo, and that hereafter he be summoned to Kioto. It is therefore the order of his Highness the Commander-in-Chief that the Imperial forces which have advanced in every direction do quickly return to head-quarters." The effect of this decree was the withdrawal of all the northern ronins from the vicinity of Yedo.

In addition to this judicious act of clemency, the edict proclaimed "an amnesty to all now in arms against the Mikado's Government, the restoration to the Tokugawa family of the bulk of its estates in the K'wanto (eight feudal districts round Yedo), and the offer of a seat in the Cabinet to Yoshi Hisa, the late Siogoon." From the tenor of these passages, it was evident that pacific counsels prevailed among the confederate daimios; and there was a speedy prospect to the termination of internecine war, with the consolidation of the new Government upon a broad and liberal basis.

§ 377. *Desperate conflict in the cemetery of the Siogoons, and the northerners defeated.*—A difficulty, however, presented itself to the astute Satsuma and his colleagues, concerning the return of Yoshi Hisa to Yedo, which might frustrate their pacific policy, not on his part, but that of his friends and adherents in the city, whose prospects had been ruined by the revolution. In the northern section of this vast city, the circumference of which exceeds twenty-four miles, there is an extensive area laid out as the cemetery of the deceased Siogoons and their families, from the days of the founder Iyeyas up to the present time. It is situated on a rising ground, defended on the right flank to the westward by a small lake, and approachable only, as is the case with most Japanese temples or sacred places, by long straight roads. The place is thus naturally strong, and being surrounded by a moat and sufficient walls, is capable of giving good defence to a determined garrison. It is named the Ooyeno, and at the time harboured a band of determined men, ready to risk their lives in its defence as the only remaining stronghold of the late Siogoons. The Ooyeno lay in the very centre of a district filled by the discontented, disbanded Samourai and retainer-soldiery of the Tokugawa family. These armed men made the Ooyeno their head-quarters, whence they had for some weeks previously been in the habit of sallying forth in small parties and materially harassing the southerners in the garrison of Yedo. This position may be understood by comparing it with Highgate Cemetery, if occupied by an armed force, while the Tower of London held a garrison not sufficiently strong to protect all the suburbs of our great metropolis. Reinforcements having arrived, however, to the Mikado's troops in Yedo Castle, it was determined to attack the position. On the 4th of July a picked body of riflemen advanced upon the

main entrance to the place, where they tried to drive out the enemy by a *coup de main*, but met with a stubborn resistance. The Tokugawa men fought like heroes. They had a battery of three guns skilfully placed and commanding the main approach, with which they repelled the advance of the besiegers, and held their own through a long summer's day. But next morning a battery of artillery came up from the garrison, and the Ooyeno was successfully stormed, with great slaughter among the Tokugawa defenders, whose bodies were allowed to lie unburied, the prey of the wild dogs and fowls of the air, within the sacred precincts of the tombs consecrated to the remains of the Siogoons.

§ 378. *Confederates, becoming alarmed, remove Yoshi Hisa from Mito to Tsurunga.*—Besides the military advantages of this victory to the garrison at Yedo, its moral result to the cause of the southern confederacy was immense. They were, for the time being, so completely masters of the situation that the friends and relatives of the Tokugawa men killed in the fight were afraid to bury the dead. Neither dared any one harbour a survivor on pain of death, so that the defeated remnant of the once-powerful clan of Tokugawa were literally swept out of that populous city and its environs, over whose millions they had held undisputed sway for more than two hundred years. Whether this sanguinary act of vengeance on a fallen foe had the sanction of the Mikado, and the pacific members of his councils, does not appear; but it caused a reaction among the northern daimios, especially Idzu, who was looked upon as leader of the coalition, and symptoms of retaliation began to appear. At Yedo murmurs were "not loud, but deep," even amongst those who had faithfully given in to the new order of things. Under the circumstances, it was evident to Satsuma and his confederates that the presence of Yoshi Hisa at Yedo would not only endanger their position, but probably lead to a renewal of hostilities, by his partisans assembling there in force to avenge the murderous fight at Ooyeno. Accordingly the order for his removal to Yedo was countermanded. But even his residence at Mito, situated in the territories of the northern daimios, where it might at any time be made their rallying point, was considered unsafe. Consequently he was moved to Tsurunga, in the south-western province of Etzizen, belonging to the daimio of that name. Here he remained more in the

character of a hostage for the peaceable behaviour of the Tokugawa family, than a free nobleman restored to his rights and possessions. Doubtless the cruel persecution of the last band of his retainers, and the desecration of the tomb of his ancestors, made a sad and gloomy impression on his sensitive mind; and it is probable that his enemies had reason to mistrust him, as he brooded over the degradation of his family, and the massacre of his brave and faithful remnant of adherents.

CHAPTER XXIII.*

1868 (CONTINUED).

MIKADO NOW SOLE MONARCH OF JAPAN — AUDIENCES TO TREATY ENVOYS — NEW MINISTRY — STATUS OF "VULGAR" PEOPLE — INSURGENTS DEFEATED — MIKADO ENTERS YEDO IN STATE.

§ 379. The British Embassy has an audience of His Majesty the Mikado MUTSU'TO. § 380. Position of the daimios at this audience inferior to that of the Ambassador. § 381. Legitimate princes and princesses numerous in the religious institutions of Japan. § 382. Religious reform tending to abolish Buddhism. § 383. Imperial nobility to unite in council with the feudal barons. § 384. Constitution of the new Government and Legislature. § 385. Titles and names of the first administration and chief councillors. § 386. Decree of the Mikado abolishing old offices and creating new ones. § 387. Discussion in the Upper Chamber for the benefit of the people at large. § 388. Japanese classification of the "noble" and "vulgar," placing traders lowest on the industrial scale. § 389. Relative positions of the lower classes explained. § 390. The vexed question of exchange privileges to foreign officials. § 391. French complications on account of contracts with the ex-Siogoon unpaid. § 392. American diplomatic scandal concerning the contract for a man-of-war. § 393. Northern daimios set up a rival Mikado. § 394. Insurgents defeated at Nee-e-gata and Wakamatz, and Idzu, their chief, made prisoner. § 395. Mikado enters Yedo in state, and changes its name to To-kiyo, or "Eastern Capital"—his genealogy.

§ 379. *The British Embassy has an audience in State of His Majesty the Mikado.*—From the gloomy pictures of the Japanese revolution, it is satisfactory to change the scene to more pleasing events, which during the interval had transpired at Osaka, where the Mikado had taken up his abode. This important fact was turned to account by the foreign representatives, to present their credentials *in propriâ personâ* to the legitimate sovereign of Japan, whom as yet no foreigner had seen. Accordingly their intention was made known to the high officers of State in attendance, who communicated the same to His Majesty, and received a most friendly reply acceding to the request. A day was then fixed for the ceremony, when it was arranged that

* The subject matter of this chapter appeared in the 'Leisure Hour' for 1872.

the British, French, and Dutch ambassadors, with their suites, should have an audience of the Mikado, if possible, at the same time. An unforeseen event prevented Sir Harry Parkes from joining his colleagues at Osaka, so that his visit did not take place until the day following, the 26th April. He was accompanied by his suite, with the British Admiral and the captains of Her Majesty's ships in harbour. The interview was most satisfactory. The Mikado expressed his pleasure at seeing the representative of the Queen, concerning whose health he solicitously inquired; and Her Majesty's Envoy at last stood face to face with the hitherto mysterious ruler of the Japanese dominions. Instead of being a ceremony of barbaric splendour, as they were led to expect, it was described as singularly simple and unostentatious in its surroundings. The Mikado, a youth of about nineteen, sat under a canopy with the highest officers of the Court and his uncles around him. He was seated on a chair, and close behind him knelt the *Sosai*, or Prime Minister, ready to prompt the youthful monarch in what he had to say to the representative of his ally. Lower down the apartment, which was quite bare of other furniture, sat the daimios on fine mats, in two rows, so placed that they could not see him. He appeared to be a well-grown young man, but of a heavy, though not unintelligent, cast of countenance. His expression, naturally enough, seemed to be one of restrained but intense curiosity, and the look of wonder was certainly not diminished by a very singular artificial deformity: his eyebrows were shaved clean, and a pair painted about an inch higher up his forehead. What little he had to say, he said in a self-possessed and dignified manner. He received the members of the Embassy, and the naval officers, who were all presented by Sir Harry Parkes, with great condescension. After the ordinary compliments were passed, he referred to the recent unfortunate occurrences in his dominions with regret, and stated his desire that they should not be allowed to interrupt the friendly relations existing between Japan and Great Britain. Sir Harry, after replying in suitable terms in the name of the Queen, followed the Mikado's speech paragraph by paragraph, making appropriate remarks on the advantages of holding to the treaties of amity and commerce which had now received his ratification. The ceremonial then came to an end, and the Embassy withdrew.

§ 380. *Position of the daimios at this audience inferior to that*

of the Ambassador.—In the account of this audience with the legitimate ruler of Japan, we have a practical illustration of the inferior grade of rank the daimiös held at the Royal Court, where they were so placed as not to look upon the face of their sovereign, while the members of a Foreign Embassy were allowed to do so. This in itself, if there were no further evidence to support it, would show that even the most powerful of these chiefs were not entitled to the rank of prince, so freely bestowed on them by foreigners. Even "his Majesty the Siogoon," so called in error by our own diplomatists, we have shown was quite a misnomer. In the same manner, when his younger brother was on a visit to Europe during the revolution, he was treated at the French Court, and also at that of St. James's, as a prince of the blood royal. To us the error is perhaps unimportant, but when the accounts reached Japan of the assumed dignity, it was treated with derision by the Japanese, and may have incensed the enemies of his brother, Yoshi Hisa.

§ 381. *Legitimate princes and princesses numerous in the religious institutions of Japan.*—It must not be inferred from these remarks that there are no legitimate princes in Japan. On the contrary, they are more numerous than among the royal families of any European monarchy, inasmuch as the scions of more than one family are entitled to that rank from which the sovereign may be chosen. According to the Japanese law of succession there are four royal families in a direct line of descent from the first monarchs, whose male branches may succeed to be the reigning Mikado, and they all rank as princes of the blood royal. The sons of these houses are called *shinno*, and the names of the four families are, *Fusimi*, *Arisungawa*, *Katsura*, and *Kunneen*. At the present time only the first and second are in existence. But as it was the policy of the State to recognise the third and fourth, besides the large revenues attached to their possessions, it is in the power of the reigning Mikado to put one of his sons into either of the extinct families, to call him by its name, and allow him to draw the income. If he has no sons, the revenues lie accruing until the family is re-established, and the income is managed by factors or agents. By this means there are generally a number of princes eligible to succeed to the throne, in the case of the death, or what seems more common in Japan, the retirement and abdication of the

Mikado. This arrangement, while it furnishes numerous princes eligible for the monarchy, has its disadvantages in creating a number not only of male persons of the royal blood, but females, who are entitled to the rank of princess, without any occupation or means sufficient to support the dignity of their position; and in Japan, just as in Europe, it has happened that such personages have carried on intrigues to upset the reigning monarch for their personal aggrandisement and ambition. In order to find occupation for the members of both sexes, they are admissible into the religious temples to which monasteries and nunneries are attached. Hence have arisen the great number, grandeur, and influence of these institutions, which vied with anything of the kind throughout the ecclesiastical dominion of the Papacy, with a priesthood equally intolerant and powerful among the people. Now, however, they are being divested of that power, especially the Buddhist priesthood, whose religious days are numbered—as will be seen in the sequel.

§ 382. *Religious revolution tending to abolish Buddhism.*—To review the different branches of this important class is beyond the limits of this chapter; yet a glance at the ecclesiastical system is necessary to understand a part of the revolutionary movement relating to the reduction, if not suppression, of its evils by Satsuma and the confederate daimios. There were fourteen of these royal ecclesiastical establishments in Japan, where the abbots, or bishops, were junior scions of royalty, who have been living in them from their childhood, and over whom a strict watch was kept, so that in adult years they did not intermeddle with affairs of state. This surveillance arose from the intrigues of their predecessors in olden times. By their wealth and number of vassals they were able to support a formidable army, the priests themselves helping to fill the ranks on occasions. In the sixteenth century, about the advent of Christian missionaries in Japan, the power of the priesthood had attained a dangerous ascendency. The reigning Mikado, Nobonango, who at one time favoured foreign priests, had always a great jealousy of the native priesthood. Taking alarm at their increase, he destroyed many of their temples, confiscated their revenues, and even slaughtered the priests; thus giving the whole system a blow from which it never recovered its wonted strength, though in recent times it had begun to hold up its head, and to some degree exhibited its

power during the rebellion. Taking alarm at that, it became a part of the new policy inaugurated by Satsuma and his colleagues to maintain Sintooism, to the exclusion of Buddhism and all other sects. Sintooism, or the doctrine of the gods, is the ancient national religion of Japan, and has always been the religion of the State; but toleration was practised to such an extent that it had but a nominal sway, and Buddhism held a predominating influence. For these reasons the religion of Buddha was no longer to be tolerated, the temples and lands of the priests were secularised, and themselves forced into the mould of laymen; while Sintooism was pressed upon the people as the only orthodox creed.

§ 383. *Imperial nobility to unite in council with the feudal barons.*—From this it will be seen that, though Satsuma ranked no higher than a daimio, with the prefix *no-kami*—equivalent to that of an English baronet—yet he possessed political power, backed by the armed retainers of his territories and those of his colleagues, that raised him above the princes by birth; and exercising that power legitimately in strengthening the throne of the Mikado, he almost became a king-maker, like our own Warwick of great renown. While supporting his legitimate sovereign, however, it has been his aim, as well as that of the confederate daimios, to diminish the power of the higher class of nobility, named *kuges*, belonging to the Mikado's court—councillors who opposed the progressive party in Japanese politics. This was accomplished by the establishment of two national councils, in which these dignitaries were associated with daimios of larger experience and fuller sympathies with the whole body of the nation. So far the revolution was a confederation of inferior nobility possessed of great wealth and warlike resources, who have been successful in overcoming the power of a paper nobility by right of birth and rank at the Mikado's court, with but slender means to maintain their dignity. The change which has taken place in the political constitution has been from an autocracy to an oligarchy on the widest possible basis, and assimilates in some degree to the monarchical institutions of European States.

§ 384. *Constitution of the Mikado's new Government and Legislature.*—Formerly the Mikado exercised his authority through two great officers of State as follow:—First, the *Sesshô* (regent), if a minor; or *Kwambakú* (vizier), when of age; and

second, the *Bakufu*, or Government of the Siogoon. These offices were abolished by decree at the revolution, and the Mikado assumed supreme power, "in order to the laying a foundation for the restitution of the Government to its ancient state, and restoring the power of the country." This intended restoration of the constitution to its former condition must be taken *cum grano salis*, as the new system of Government substituted for the old one differs very materially from the despotic rule of the Mikados before the Siogoonate was established. At all events, the power of the sword is no longer vested in the descendants of Taikosama, Gongensama, and Iyeyas; nor are edicts to be issued under the royal seal by an almost irresponsible regent or vizier. Compared with these officers, the members of the new administration are almost responsible advisers of the crown. The Government is divided into three parts:—The first is the *Sosai*, a post clearly intended to be after the model of a British premiership, through whom the sovereign communicates with his councillors. These comprise the other two sections, named the Gijio and Sanyo, forming an upper and lower chamber to deliberate upon the affairs of the nation. The Chinese characters used to denominate these bodies and offices explain to some extent their composition. The characters which form the title of Sanyo may be rendered "Associate Council," and those of Gijio signify to discuss, to settle, to fix—the functions of this body being to discuss all questions, and suggest the method of their settlement to the Sosai, or Prime Minister; the two characters which form the title of that functionary signifying, first, to unite, combine in one whole, general; and second, to cut, to decide, to settle; while together they appear to mean the person to whom the full consideration and final decision or settlement of questions is to be referred, and who may be president of the chief council. Although the comparison is widely drawn, yet there evidently was an intention to imitate the constitution of the upper and lower legislative chambers of Western States when these provisions of the new Government were made.

§ 385. *Titles and names of the first Ministry and chief councillors.*—We gain a further insight into this *modus operandi* by reviewing the names and rank of the first occupants, who were appointed by the same edict or manifesto of the Mikado,

published for general information. The first occupant of the dignity of *Sosai* was named Arisugawa *no-Mia*, said to be a brother of Iyemochi, the late Mikado, and uncle of the reigning sovereign. The Gijio, or Supreme Council, consists of ten members, five being selected from the list of *kuges*, or high dignitaries of the old *régime*, and five of the great daimios, including two of the first confederate leaders, Satsuma and Tosa, and Owari and Etzizen, the heads of the two chief clans who followed the movement. Of these, Etzizen represents the family nearest in relation to that of Tokugawa Yoshi Hisa, the late Siogoon, who may yet be admitted to the council. In the *Sanyo*, or inferior assembly, there are also five *kuges*, probably of lower rank to those in the upper chamber. At all events they are associated with fifteen of the daimio-retainers belonging to the clans of Satsuma, Etzizen, Owari, Geyshiu, and Tosa. The most significant point in the constitution of this council is the admission into a deliberative assembly of a class who were formerly excluded from all participation in affairs of State, and who were deemed of "vulgar" position compared to "noble" rank. In fact, it is a step in the direction of a representative assembly, with the admission of the non-privileged classes to a share in the government of the country, which at present they have not, and who, during the revolution of 1868–9—which will be memorable in the annals of Japan—had no voice or power to assist the current of events. As the manifesto of the Mikado proclaiming these vital changes in the Government is a document of interest and worthy of preservation, we append a translation from the 'Japan Times.'

§ 386. *Decree of the Mikado abolishing old offices and creating new ones.*—"The restoration, henceforward by Tokugawa *Naifu* (Yoshi Hisa) of the Government committed to him, and his resignation of the office of Siogoon is accepted. Moreover, seeing how the land of the late Mikado was for many years afflicted by the unwonted troubles which have arisen in the country since 1853 onwards, and in compliance with the desires expressed in council, the following resolutions have been made. —First. That in order to the laying of a foundation for the restitution of the Government to its ancient state, and restoring the power of the country, the offices of *Sesshó* and *Kwambakú*, and the *Bakufu*, be abolished, and that now the three offices of

Sosai, *Gijio*, and *Sanyo* be instituted, and orders on all matters be issued by them. Second. That in all matters the institutions of *Jim-mo* (the first Mikado) be reverted to as a basis; that without distinction of Court dignitaries, and the military class, *or of noble and vulgar*, upright counsels be exhausted (uniformly and unreservedly pursued), and the Mikado along with his realm rejoice and sorrow together. Third. That in the spirit of these resolutions, each one put forth his efforts and wash away the polluted customary practices, discharging his duties with true loyalty and patriotism. The offices of *Nairau*, *Chiokumon*, *Kokuji*, *Goyogakari*, *Griso Buke Taiso*, *Shingoshioku*, and *Shoshidai*, are all abolished. Beginning with the great officers of State, hereafter the other offices will be announced."

§ 387. *Discussion in the Upper Chamber for the benefit of the people at large.*—Shortly after the more pressing matters arising out of the revolution were discussed in the councils, an interesting discussion took place in the Upper Chamber upon a question affecting the people, a report of which appeared in a native publication, being the eighth number of what we might term the 'Kioto Government Gazette,' published by authority. The question before the council referred to the Island of Yeso, the north island of the Japanese group, which is thinly populated, and, for the sake of illustration, may be compared to the Scottish Highlands. Here it was pointed out that there were large tracts of land unproductive for the want of labour; while, in the more southern isles, the population was becoming too dense; and it was therefore desirable for the Government to afford facilities to industrious peasants to proceed thither and reclaim the waste lands. A brief debate ensued among those who were conversant with the subject, and those who were not so candidly admitted the same. The latter, no doubt, were the *kuges*, who knew little or nothing of the state of the lower orders of the people. Not so Satsuma and Etzizen, who delivered their views on the important question in writing, in a practical manner. The latter Mimio confined his observations to the necessity of appointing some competent officer to the post, who would devote his whole time and energies, as Governor of the island, for its agricultural development. Satsuma went further, and recommended a system of husbandry after the European model, such as he had introduced into his own domains with success. On being requested by his

colleagues to give some details of his plan, he sent a second memorial to the Government, which appeared in a subsequent issue of the 'Gazette,' where his recommendations were approved of, and ordered to be carried into execution. In that memorial he recommends the use of steam machinery in preference to water-power, not only for agricultural purposes, but for the introduction of manufactures on a large scale, as in Europe. These were significant indications of progress in civilization among the Japanese. "It cannot be concealed any longer, that the 'Land of the Rising Sun' is taking rank among the nations of the world. The times are over when she was an outside nation. She has a place to occupy amongst the peoples, and she is girding herself to occupy it. We must no longer think of Japan as being coerced into following the dictates of other more advanced Powers. She will henceforth hold her own amongst the foremost nations of the East."* The next step in her onward progress will be the emancipation of the industrious middle and labouring classes, who at that time were almost in a state of bondage under the privileged classes, whom they dreaded, and whose armed followers were not only considered their superiors, but also exercised their sanguinary functions as if the populace were slaves.

§ 388. *Japanese classification of traders lowest on the industrial scale.*—It will be observed that, during the whole of this period of anarchy and strife, the people belonging to the industrial classes in Japan had no voice in the revolution. Not only were all the skilled workmen considered as nonentities in the body politic, but their masters, and all that army of traders who go to make up the ranks of commerce, were deemed as far beneath the "vulgar" as they were considered below the "noble." Yet, according to the Japanese classification of industrial pursuits, which was after the model of the Chinese, agriculturists ranked next to the privileged classes, and highest in the scale of labour, while the trader or merchant was the lowest of all, even below the meanest artisan. Hence arose that contempt for foreign merchants located at the treaty ports by the Japanese authorities, and the restrictions of the late Government on the commerce carried on by them with the native traders. Hitherto it had been a well-grounded com-

* 'North China Herald.'

plaint of the British merchants at Yokohama, that our Ministers did not use their influence sufficiently with the native authorities to impress upon them the position they held in their native country in relation to mechanics and agricultural labourers. Whether they were converts to the modern doctrine of the supremacy of labour over capital does not appear in their cautiously framed dispatches on the question; but, as far as could be ascertained through native official sources, these Ministers and the members of the legations were more inclined to lead the Japanese to infer that they agreed with their classification of merchants among the *oi polloi*, than with the superior classes as in England. At the same time our diplomatists, with the naval and military commanders, not only enjoyed the privileges of their rank according to Japanese etiquette as observed on the occasion of the audience with the Mikado, but they obtained the substantial profits arising through the exchange between foreign and native metallic currency, at one time thirty per cent. in their favour over that of the merchant, with the right of exchanging a certain sum daily, by which most of the foreign officials doubled their legitimate salaries.

§ 389. *Relative positions of the lower classes explained in extract from 'Japan Times.'*—Although these anomalous relations—looking at them from a Western point of view—had been considerably modified through the events of the revolution, still the old leaven existed to the detriment of the foreign merchants who risked their capital, and sometimes their lives, in opening up the treaty ports to profitable commerce. The subject generally will be, perhaps, better understood by a perusal of the following remarks from the 'Japan Times,' in commenting upon the manifesto of the Mikado:—"The phrase we have italicised in the second clause of these resolutions—'*of noble and vulgar*'—is remarkable, as by no means expressive to a Japanese of the same idea which it suggests to a European. The Japanese 'vulgar' is not our mob, nor does it include even the bulk of the population of the country. Agriculturists, artisans, merchants, are all below the 'vulgar' in Japan, and so far below as to be beneath mention or consideration. The 'vulgar' are the rank and file of the *Samourai* class, the most numerous of the four privileged classes of Japanese society; the others being in order as we name them,—tillers of the soil

and miners, who raise the produce of the earth and are held to be the original creators of wealth; artisans who manufacture the raw materials into clothing, arms, houses, and furniture; and, lastly, merchants, the brokers between the producer and the consumer, whose toil is lightest, and whose profits are a mere increase upon cost. The 'dignity of labour' has never been so clearly recognized in a so-called civilized country, as in this classification of the people of the semi-savage Nip-pon. After the god-descended *Samourai*, the Adam who delves is the gentleman in Japan. The *Samourai* has yet to learn that he is a less useful member of the body politic than even the despised merchant, but a great revulsion of feeling, a complete revolution of thought, must take place before this idea can be even preached among such a people. It has always appeared to us a principal part of our mission here to elevate the *status* of the merchant by showing them how we regard him amongst us. Capital has its dignity as well as labour; and it has always, too, been the greatest mistake made by the successive representatives of Great Britain that they have done nothing to advance this truth among the official classes of the Japanese. On the contrary, on more than one occasion, they have studied to depreciate the importance of the trading class, by permitting themselves to malign us to the authorities, and have never taken the opportunities which have offered of showing in what position we really stand in our own country."

§ 390. *The vexed question of exchange privileges allowed foreign officials explained.*—As already observed, the revolution had effected an important alteration in the exchange of foreign specie for native currency, which rescinded virtually the privileges of foreign officials, and placed the merchant on a par, financially speaking, with the diplomatist. The following was the official notification bearing on this vexed question:—"Arrangements having been made for the exchange of *boos* (native coins) against dollars (Mexican) at the rate of two hundred and ninety-three (293) per hundred, exchange will be given to all foreigners on the morning of the ninth day inclusive from the day on which dollars are deposited at the *Saibanshô*. This arrangement will come into operation on the 27th July, 1868." To those unacquainted with Japanese currency, it will be necessary to explain the relative value of the coinage alluded to, and the bankers' rates of exchange. The *boo*, or more

properly the *itziboo*, is an oblong square silver coin, larger and heavier than our shilling by about a half more. In the Yokohama market-report the exchange of one hundred Mexican dollars for these was quoted on the 11th of July, before the appearance of the notification, at 240 to 242 itziboos. Resolving this rate into British currency, valuing the dollar at 4*s.* 2*d.*, the merchant paid in round numbers 1*s.* 9*d.* for the only coin with which he was allowed to transact business with the natives. Previously the rates fluctuated, sometimes more, but more frequently less, and at one period they were quoted as low as 210, or nearly two shillings a-piece. Under the new arrangement, he could now exchange his dollars for itziboos at the reduced rate of 1*s.* 5*d.*, which, in round numbers, was the value of the exchange at 293 per hundred dollars. Now, during the previous eight years, or two years after the Treaty of Yedo was made by Lord Elgin, not only did all the diplomatists of the Foreign Legations, and officers of the navy and army in Japanese waters, enjoy this high rate of exchange, but sometimes it rose above 300, so that they obtained the itziboo for 1*s.* 4*d.*, while the merchant had to pay probably 1*s.* 10*d.* Moreover, each official or officer was allowed a daily exchange, or weekly, as the case might be, of so many dollars or hundred dollars according to his rank, of course increasing from that of a lieutenant to an admiral, ensign to a general, or a junior *employé* at the legations and consulates, to the ministers and consuls. As the scale was pretty liberal in the amounts allowed by the Japanese authorities, the foreign officials could not avail themselves of the full privilege for their own purposes, and they were in the habit of disposing of the same at a certain percentage to the merchants. By this means they supplemented their pay so as in some instances to nearly double it, when there was a demand for itziboos to purchase native produce. A good deal of scandal arose out of these transactions, of which the less said the better, even as regards our own officials and officers, to say nothing of other foreign representatives and *employés*, who were not so scrupulous. But the most substantial benefit accruing from the disparity of exchange between the official and non-official foreigners went into the treasury of the ex-Siogoon, whose Government had supreme control over the native banks of exchange. While they lost nothing by allowing their foreign *confrères* this privi-

lege, they pocketed every sixpence the foreign merchant paid between his rate of 1*s.* 10*d.* and the Government rate of 1*s.* 4*d.* per itziboo. There was a cunning policy in doing this. On the one hand, it was a sop to the ministers and commanders of forces not to look too minutely into the exchange question, or use their influence to reduce that paid by the mercantile community. On the other hand, the sums accruing reached in time an amount so large that it was more than all the duties on foreign merchandise imported and native produce exported. With this surplus money the ex-Siogoon strengthened his armaments by importing guns, rifles, and steam vessels suitable for warlike operations, or pleasure boats for himself and his colleagues. In this manner it is said that his astute Government kept up their army and navy chiefly at the expense of the foreign traders, and the very dollars paid for their ships were the surplus obtained in exchange for itziboos at the high rates.

§ 391. *French complications on account of contracts with the ex-Siogoon unpaid.*—It may be observed here, that while the leading representatives of the Treaty Powers agreed to refrain from interfering, by either diplomatic or demonstrative means, with the progress of the revolution, the French and American legations became involved in the fate of the ex-Siogoon, through certain transactions with him in clothing and arming his sea and land forces. M. Léon Roches, the French Minister, some years prior to, and during the revolution, whenever he had an audience of the late Siogoon, improved the occasion to urge on him the advantage of drilling his forces according to French tactics. These hints were accepted, as already stated, and a large number of native troops were put through the manual and platoon exercises by French drill instructors, to the great satisfaction of the Government. From drilling, these suggestions progressed to clothing the troops after the French uniform, and constructing magazines and arsenals for war material. To these the Siogoon lent a willing ear; and there is reason to believe that, having such an obliging ally to deal with, he saw the policy of following out his suggestions by substantial contracts with Frenchmen, in the expectation that the Minister might prove an active ally in times of danger to his authority, which were then looming in the distance. Accordingly, the subordinates of the Siogoon entered into contracts with the

agents of the French Minister for clothing his army, constructing an arsenal, docks, and other warlike public works. These contracts were in progress when the *coup d'état* at Kioto of January, 1868, came, and, of course, put an end to their being carried out, as far as Yoshi Hisa was concerned. When the fugitive Siogoon reached the Bay of Osaka, he went on board the French frigate 'Dupleix'—it is alleged, with a view of ascertaining whether his ally, who was interested in his retaining power, would aid him by his fleet in the emergency. On receiving information that he would remain neutral, he abandoned the campaign in despair, and, as we have seen, took refuge in Yedo. Not the least notable result of the revolution was the blow it has given to French influence in Japan, which was reaching a questionable degree; and the settlement of these unredeemed contracts led to fresh complications, but which were subsequently adjusted by the Mikado's new Government.

§ 392. *American diplomatic scandal concerning the contract for a man-of-war.*—The other impolitic transactions alluded to, through the American legation, arose out of contracts entered into with certain agents recommended by the Minister of the United States, to build ships of war for the late Siogoon's navy. As intelligence reached Japan of the progress of a vessel on the stocks at New York, the Government transmitted large sums in specie, until they reached the high figure of six hundred thousand dollars—equivalent to a hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling. When the ship arrived for which this money was paid, the Japanese saw that they had been completely deceived, and that the vessel at the outside was not worth a third of that sum. Not satisfied with the explanations at the American Embassy, they dispatched a commission to Washington, who laid the whole case before the United States' Government. Evidently the manner in which the Japanese had been imposed on was apparent to Mr. Seward, who arranged that the matter should be settled by taking the vessel back into the United States' navy, and transferring the iron-clad frigate 'Stonewall Jackson' to the Japanese, as a ship more suited for the original purpose. How the American Government were reimbursed the difference between the value of the two ships does not appear, as their prospect of getting the money from the delinquent agents was not very clear. Be that as it may,

they fulfilled their engagement, and the 'Stonewall Jackson' arrived in Yedo Bay during the latter part of April. At this time the culminating point of the revolution was over, and Yoshi Hisa was a voluntary prisoner within the walls of his own castle. From its battlements he may have seen the arrival of the foreign "thunderer," and no doubt wished she had come sooner, that by her formidable strength he could have overcome his enemies at Osaka, and retrieved his fallen fortunes. It was now too late; the Mikado had issued his second decree restoring him to favour, and he could only look on the ship as the property of his sovereign. As there still appeared doubts of the successful party in the revolution to the mind of the American Minister, General van Valkenberg, he considered the question of ownership in the unsettled state of the country as not yet decided. Accordingly, he ordered the captain in charge of her to haul down the Japanese flag, with its emblem of the rising sun, and hoist the "stars and stripes." Under this flag she remained neutral, until the American Minister, together with his colleagues, notified the withdrawal of neutrality, when the vessel was handed over to the Mikado's Government.

§ 393. *Northern coalition of daimios set up a rival Mikado, threatening Yedo.*—Meanwhile, the northern daimios and their adherents who refused to submit to the legitimate authority of the Mikado, gathered strength by setting up a high personage belonging to one of the royal families, named *Mia Sama*, as a rival monarch to whom they would pay allegiance. It is not very clear, however, whether this personage actually joined the "rebels," as they were called. Be that as it may, during September large bodies of them were observed advancing on Yedo from the north, it was supposed with the intention of starving out the Mikado's garrison at the approaching winter. In view of an attack, the mint and arsenal were transported to Osaka, and large numbers of the inhabitants were sent into the southern provinces, such as traders, artisans, and labourers, while crowds of others left of their own accord. In the neighbourhood of the foreign settlement at Yokohama, one of these bands of insurgents appeared, well armed, with two field-pieces; and it was reported that Idzu, the daimio who commanded the whole force, intended to invest Yedo. As we have already mentioned, the circumference of that city is twenty-four miles, and any attempt to invest it would prove a failure. Probably

for that reason the project was abandoned, and the rebel army retired on the seaport of Nee-e-gata. This was the new treaty port, which the Mikado's Government had declared would be immediately opened to foreign commerce. Under the circumstances, they issued a proclamation at Yokohama, protesting against foreigners persisting in going to the port, as they would not be answerable for life or property. In this the British Minister coincided, but other envoys allowed their countrymen to traffic for the sake of early profits in trade.

§ 394. *Insurgents defeated at Nee-e-gata and Wakamatz, and Idzu, their chief, made prisoner.*—This harbour is on the west coast of the Island of Nip-pon, upon the shores of the Sea of Japan. In its vicinity bands of insurgents kept the country in a state of anarchy; and a strong body of them being entrenched in the town, the Mikado's fleet of foreign war-vessels proceeded to the port, and dislodged the enemy by bombarding their position. Unfortunately, shortly afterwards four of these ships were wrecked in the bay, causing a serious loss for the victory they had attained. The fall of Nee-e-gata was followed up by the royal troops attacking the enemy in several other inland towns on the west coast, by which they succeeded in driving the insurgents, with great loss, further north. However, they fought with sullen determination when attacked, although unable to assume the offensive. Among these engagements was an attack upon Wakamatz, the principal town belonging to the daimio Idzu, who commanded the rebel force. After a hard fight it was captured, and this proved to be a severe blow to the declining cause of the northerners, as it led to the submission of that noble himself to the Mikado. Accordingly he abandoned the insurgent cause and proceeded to Yedo, where his sovereign had by that time taken up his temporary abode. At first a proclamation was issued condemning all the malcontents to death; but the policy of the new Government was one of clemency, so his sentence was reduced to confiscation of all his lands and imprisonment for life. A daimio of similar rank was alike sentenced; but eighteen of inferior grade lost only a greater or lesser portion of their revenues, with a change from fertile to unfertile lands.

§ 395. *The Mikado enters Yedo in state, and changes its name to To-kiyo, or Eastern Capital. His name and age.*—The visit of the Mikado to the city of Yedo was the culminating point in

the restoration of the sovereign power of his dynasty. In order to signalize the occasion with all the solemnity and *prestige* of his hereditary power, he changed the name of this great city, from its designation under the rule of the Siogoons, to one more appropriate as a royal metropolis, the terms of which are given in the following proclamation, published in the 'Japan Gazette,' from which it is translated:—"Being now established in my reign, and in the government over all people of Japan, I have taken into consideration that Yedo is well adapted for the seat of Government, inasmuch as it is the greatest, the most populous, and the wealthiest city in the Eastern Empire. I therefore decree that Yedo shall be the seat of my Government, and the city shall henceforth be called 'To-kiyo,' or the Eastern Capital. This I do because I consider my whole empire as but one body, and therefore I am anxious to show no partiality to either of the eastern or western provinces. Let all my subjects be informed that such is my decree. Given in this month of the year *Tatsu*." The Mikado entered the city in state on the 26th of November, and resided there during the remainder of the year that had witnessed the success of his cause, and the virtual overthrow of the Siogoon and his adherents. He had then attained his majority, according to the Japanese law at the early age of sixteen; having been born in November, 1852, became heir apparent in November, 1860, and ascended the throne in October, 1868—therefore, he is now (1873) in his twenty-first year. His name is MUTSH'TO, and in lineage is the 122nd successor to JIM-MOO, the first Mikado who reigned 2333 years ago; the generations before that monarch being in number thirteen, and extending over 2479 years, or a total royal chronology of 4811 years. The year-name Mei-jai, now in use, is the 224th of the series.*

* 'The Phœnix,' July, 1872, edited by Professor Summers.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1868 (CONCLUDED).

TREATY POWERS NEUTRAL — DIFFICULTIES OF NEW GOVERNMENT — PROGRESS AND STATISTICS OF YOKOHAMA, NAGASAKI, HIOGO, AND OSAKA — HAKODADI CAPTURED BY THE INSURGENTS.

§ 396. Ministers issue neutrality notifications during the civil war. § 397. Increase in the number of European Treaty Powers with Japan. § 398. Diplomatic, naval, and military services of Her Majesty in Japan. § 399. Difficulties of the Mikado's Government at Yokohama. § 400. Public Works Department superintended by British subjects. § 401. Material improvement of Yokohama in its transition state. § 402. Club-house there, and hotel at Yedo for foreigners. § 403. Approximate census of residents and non-residents at Yokohama. § 404. Foreigners converse and publish a newspaper in the Japanese language. § 405. Financial difficulties of the Mikado's Government. § 406. Fluctuations in commerce, and French commercial statistics. § 407. Foreign and Chinese population at Nagasaki in 1868. § 408. Situation, streets, and buildings in the foreign settlement there excellent. § 409. Pacific change of Japanese military and civil officers there. § 410. Persecution of native Christians at Nagasaki and neighbourhood. § 411. Slow progress of the new foreign settlement in the city of Osaka. § 412. Kobe, the site for the new settlement at Hiogo, excellent. § 413. Progress there during the first year. § 414. The tide of civil war rolls on to the Island of Yeso. § 415. Skirmish between the rebels and regulars near Hakodadi. § 416. Capture of the town by Enomoto and the insurgent forces.

§ 396. *Ministers issue neutrality notifications during the civil war.*—In order to record the warlike annals of this eventful year in the history of Japan, in a consecutive manner, the occurrences among the foreign communities, who were the cause of the revolution, have been left in abeyance. Although several assaults and outrages took place at Yedo, Yokohama, and Nagasaki, yet none were of a serious character; so that, with the exception of the massacre of the French seamen at Osaka and the attack at Hiogo, foreigners generally were not mingled up in any way with the sanguinary engagements of the belligerents. At times, however, the residents and diplomatic agents were apprehensive of attacks on the settlements, and all the available sea and land forces were kept on the *qui vive*. When

hostilities commenced in earnest the foreign Ministers issued notifications, apprizing the Japanese authorities that their respective Governments would hold themselves entirely neutral during the civil war, until such time as either party obtained the ascendency, when these would be withdrawn. They also notified to their countrymen not to take part in the internecine strife, directly or indirectly, under certain pains and penalties, should they infringe the code of international law. The only renegades were some French adventurers, whose acts will be noticed in the following year's annals.

§ 397. *Increase in the number of European Treaty Powers with Japan.*—Hitherto, it will have been observed that all the important negotiations with the ruling Powers, and the warlike operations on sea and land, were confined to the forces and representatives of Great Britain, France, Holland, and the United States, as the four leading Treaty Powers. At the beginning of diplomatic relations with Japan, Prussia concluded a treaty, and took an active part in naval affairs when the legations moved from Yedo to Yokohama. After that the Envoy left the country, and appointed a *chargé d'affaires*, without any force as his *locum tenens*, during the subsequent important events. From time to time, however, there were additions to the European Treaty Powers, besides that of Russia—one of the first inaugurated after the old Dutch monopoly was abrogated, and which had no Minister at Yedo, or whose naval forces never took part in the allied hostilities. These were the comparatively small States of Portugal, Switzerland, Belgium, and Denmark; all of whom had concluded treaties, and were content to remain under the *ægis* of the British and other leading Powers, to secure their rights under the "most favoured nation" clause. Indeed, it may be said, without egotism, that it was the invulnerable right hand of British valour which fought the battle of Western civilization for all nationalities who benefited by commerce with Japan. This year added two more to the list of these secondary treaties. On the 11th of November, Herr von Polsbrock, as Plenipotentiary for the King of Sweden and Norway, signed a treaty with the Mikado's envoys. Thus was added another to the list of Powers without a proper governmental establishment, over whose subjects no sufficient control could be exercised, and who had the benefit of the ex-territorial clause. Such treaties were mere blinds to mask

the gift of a consulate to some traders, an office unpaid, but carrying with it indirect advantages, of which many who secured such posts did not hesitate to avail themselves to the full, in the competition with their less favoured neighbours, as legitimate traders. Again, on the 12th of November, one between Spain and Japan was signed by His Excellency Señor de Quevedo, Spanish Plenipotentiary, and the Mikado's Minister for Foreign Affairs. Senor Otin, Secretary of Legation, shortly afterwards proceeded to Spain in charge of the copy for ratification. Thus there were twelve Western Powers who had entered into treaties of amity and commerce with Japan at the close of this year of vital state revolution and progress.

§ 398. *Diplomatic, naval, and military services of Her Majesty in Japan.*—By this time the new British Legation buildings at Yedo were being finished, and Sir Harry Parkes with his staff were about to take up their permanent abode there. These were Mr. Adams, Secretary; Mr. Mitford, Second Secretary; Mr. Satow, Japanese Interpreter; Mr. Dohmen, Dutch Interpreter; Mr. Wilkinson, Accountant; Dr. Siddall, Medical Officer; and Messrs. Quin, Hodges, Hall, and O'Driscoll, Student Interpreters. A new consular building was also being erected at Yokohama, after rather a grotesque design, with three towers. The officers of Her Majesty's consulate at this time were Mr. Fletcher, Consul; Mr. Walsh, First Assistant; Mr. Schmidt, Dutch Interpreter; and Mr. Troup, Japanese Interpreter. Her Majesty's naval and military forces in Japan at the close of the year were as follow:—The 'Ocean,' iron-clad; 'Rodney,' flag-ship, Admiral Keppel; 'Cormorant,' 'Pearl,' 'Argus,' 'Manila,' and 'Satellite'; military: 1st battalion, 10th Regiment (600); detachment of Engineers; battery of Artillery; Commissariat officers, storekeepers, &c., in command of General Brunkers, who only visited Japan from his head-quarters in China, while Admiral Keppel was most of the year in Japan. In both waters the British fleet consisted of thirty steam men-of-war, the French squadron ten, and the American nine.

§ 399. *Difficulties of the Mikado's Government at Yokohama.*—Before the removal of the Siogoon's officials at Yokohama and a new Governor was installed by the Mikado's Government, a notification announced the arrival of Ohara Sakino Gijiu, of the rank of *kuge*, a hereditary title, higher than that of any daimio, but having no appanage attached to it. He was

described as a young man, of a very ordinary cast of countenance, without much expression, and a demeanour anything but dignified. His dress differed from that of a daimio, being much plainer, and instead of a broad lacquered hat he wore a shoe-shaped head covering. He stated in his notification that he had arrived with soldiery from Satsuma, Hizen, and Tsikugo, to take charge of the settlement, and post these men as guards at its approaches. This relieved the British troops from a harassing duty, which they had performed since the departure of the late Siogoon's guards. Having done so, he proceeded to Yedo. Three months afterwards, the foreign Ministers became alarmed at the march of large bodies of southern soldiery along the great highway upon Yedo, and decided to neutralize the settlement, and to confide it to the protection of foreign guards. A portion of these were furnished by the British and French garrisons, and the marines from vessels of war of various nationalities. In providing for the civil departments at Yokohama the new Government also laboured under great difficulties, the chief of which was the want of officials who possessed the requisite knowledge of foreigners, their languages, habits, and wants. They were compelled to employ either the *employés* of the late Government or men entirely new to the service, and hence peculation, error, and discomfort were the results of their necessity. Great complaints were made by the merchants of the inefficient working of the customs under the new *régime*; and it was recommended to introduce foreigners into the service, as in China, but the Japanese showed no inclination to transfer their patronage of these lucrative posts to them. At the same time, the new Government were quite alive to the appointment of qualified foreigners to fill high offices, of which they had none competent to take charge. Such was the case in appointing Mr. W. H. Grinnell, an American gentleman, as Comptroller of the Navy—who was in every way suited to fill the post. On the other hand, the French artificers and superintendents at the arsenal of Yokoska, who had been engaged by the late Siogoon's agents, were troublesome to deal with, in consequence of their unpaid claims and outlay. The Government could not discharge these men, and replace them, without coming into collision with the French representatives, who hinted that they would hold the docks and armaments as a material guarantee until the claims were paid. Under these circumstances, they

had no alternative but to keep them on, and ultimately pay the claims in full.

§ 400. *Public Works Department superintended by British subjects.*—Other appointments of foreigners to high posts took place in the department of Public Works—indicative of an enlightened pacific progress in Japan—and bestowed upon British subjects. These were Messrs. Brunton and M'Vean, civil engineers, specially engaged to superintend all works within the scope of their profession. Their attention was first directed to the erection of coast and harbour lighthouses on the most approved principles then known in Britain, where they were to be constructed on the plans laid down by these gentlemen, at Milne and Company's works in Edinburgh. A survey of the coast for this purpose had been made, and sites the most suitable for upwards of twenty lighthouses fixed on, besides one already erected and lighted at the entrance to Nagasaki Harbour. For this important department of maritime works a spacious area of ground was laid out near the arsenal at Yokoska, whereon workshops and dwelling-houses were being erected for the British mechanics skilled in their manufacture, and the expert Japanese workmen under their superintendence. Some of the former were already located at the place, and others were arriving monthly in ships freighted with plant and *matériel*, ready to be put together and set up. Of inferior marine works, these were manufactured on the spot, where the native artificers displayed an ingenuity and finish that would compare with anything of the kind turned out of European dockyards. Among these was a light-ship ready for its lantern, and when completed to be moored at the entrance to the anchorage off Yokohama and Kanagawa. A number of large buoys, also, were constructed, to mark off the shoals and spits on each side the channels, the principal buoy to be anchored at Sourratogil.* Altogether this was a good beginning to a useful department, which has since expanded to large proportions under the able control of Mr. Brunton.

§ 401. *Material improvement of Yokohama in its transition state.*—Regarding the material progress of the settlement at Yokohama—its buildings, sanitary improvements, and amenities—the Municipal Council were either incompetent or unable

* Correspondent of 'The London and China Telegraph.'

to perform what they had undertaken to do, and their affairs came to a dead-lock for want of funds to carry out the necessary public works. It is true that the wealthy residents did not come forward with the liberality they should have done to aid them in their task; but many of them were undecided in their movements whether they should not migrate to Osaka and Hiogo. Hence there were few substantial buildings erected in place of those destroyed during the great conflagration two years previously, and many were deterred from doing so in consequence of the insurance companies doubling and trebling their former rates on such risks. Notwithstanding this apparent uncertainty of the progress of Yokohama, a sale by auction of new allotments for building purposes fetched what were considered high prices, after a brisk competition among the bidders. Eight lots were put up for sale, situated at the back of those set aside for public purposes on the land reclaimed since the fire of 1866. Each lot consisted of 437 *tsuboes*,* nearly the third of an acre, and an upset price of 4 dols. per *tsubo* was fixed upon, or about 400*l.* per lot. The whole were purchased for a total of 46,247 dols., or an average of about 4000*l.* per acre. They were sold on behalf of the new Government by the chairman of the Municipal Council, subject to a ground-rent of 28 dols. per 100 *tsubo* = 27*l.* per lot. As to the projected drains and guttering of streets, to carry off the flood waters and sewage, very little had been done, and consequently the health of the community through the hot summer and autumn was worse than before. Several families risked the chance of building small villas in the suburbs to reside in, but a shot through a window and several house robberies prevented their number increasing.

§ 402. *Club-house at Yokohama, and hotel at Yedo for foreigners.*—The only improvement in house accommodation with European comforts, if not luxuries, was the erection of a commodious club-house for the convenience of the community, visitors, and naval and military officers. This was in charge of a most efficient club-master, Mr. W. H. Smith, who could lodge and board one person for about three dollars a day, and half that for residents requiring only their meals. The reading-room was well supplied with English and foreign newspapers, and the

* Tsubo : 1236 = 1 acre.

general discipline and comfort of the house spoke well for the manager, who in other respects was, and has been ever since, one of the most public spirited residents in the settlement. In the same category may be placed several Japanese merchants, whose names have not transpired, but who provided hotel accommodation for foreigners visiting Yedo, surpassing that of the Yokohama club-house. There the traveller could find a building, with roomy apartments, equal in comfort to some of the best hotels in Europe or America. It was built on a picturesque site by the margin of the bay, surrounded by grounds very tastefully laid out with paths among flower-beds, shrubberies, and grassy knolls. The building was two hundred feet in length, by eighty feet in width, with a campanile tower sixty feet high, which commanded from its enclosed top an extensive prospect of the capital—now called To-Kiyo, but will always be named Yedo by foreigners—the magnificent Bay of Yedo, and the native-adored mountain of Fusi Yama rising grandly in the distance. The accommodation was suitable for about one hundred visitors, according to the size of apartments in Japan hotels; in Europe it would be made to suit three hundred. In addition to the dining-hall, there was a billiard-room and drawing-room, with long corridors and verandahs. Here a foreigner could obtain excellent meals and lodging at the reasonable charge of three dollars, or nine itziboos, equal to thirteen shillings and sixpence per diem.*

§ 403. *Approximate census of residents and non-residents at Yokohama.*—In such a motley community as that of Yokohama, who were always more or less on the move to other ports in Japan and China, it was always, and still is, a matter of difficulty to ascertain the number of *bonâ fide* residents with any degree of certainty. Of course the evanescent foreigners afloat, belonging to the naval and mercantile marine, and the military on shore, at any time mustered stronger than the whole number of settlers, men, women, and children. It has been stated that the battalion of British infantry alone were six hundred strong in the autumn of this year, which was actually fifty more than the entire community of residents at the same time. If to these be added the Royal Engineers, artillerymen, and commissariat officers and storekeepers, there were at least eight hundred

* Correspondent of 'London and China Telegraph.'

British ashore in cantonments on the Bluff. As to those on board the squadron, they were fully three times that number, and among the merchant shipping say two hundred more, making a total of three thousand. Adding the same floating population of all other nationalities, including the French and Dutch marines encamped on shore, at say fifteen hundred, there were not less than four thousand five hundred foreign outsiders in September of this memorable year, trading with and protecting the residents. Let us now see their number and nationality, according to an approximate census published at that time in the 'Japan Gazette.' British subjects headed the return with 240. This, however, was known to be below the mark, in consequence of an unpopular regulation requiring every person to be registered on arrival in the settlement at the Consulate, to pay a fee of five dollars when doing so, and repeat the payment annually. Many respectable residents considered it an obnoxious poll-tax, and tried to get it rescinded; while others, to whom the heavy fee of twenty-two shillings and sixpence yearly was a consideration, evaded the imposition altogether. But these were not numerous in such a small community where they could be singled out and mulcted in a fine of double the amount, besides the fee, for neglecting to give in their names, occupations, ages, and places of birth for registration. So that if these were put down at twenty it will be the outside, making the total of British subjects 260. There was no registration or fee imposed by any other nationality, so their census may be considered nearer the mark, although the following return gives them in round numbers:—Americans, 80; Germans, 70; French, 60; Dutch, 50; Italians, Portuguese, and Swiss, 50: total, 310; add British 260, and there was a total of 570 residents of all nationalities, sex and age. This again added to the non-resident foreigners gives a grand total of 5070 souls of Western birth at the latter part of the year, whose fortunes had brought them to the shores of the far eastern settlement of Yokohama.

§ 404. *Foreigners converse and publish a newspaper in Japanese.*—As to the number of Japanese officials, traders, guards, and others in foreign employ living within the precincts of the settlement, or their *confrères* the Chinese, we have no data to state it with any degree of correctness; but there is little doubt that they were double the foreign population, not including

the women frequenting the Yoshiwarra quarter. There was one feature in their intercourse with foreigners, that the traders did not use a bastard English as in China, while the residents endeavoured to acquire the native language at least in its simple idiom, to enable them to conduct their transactions in words that had a real meaning, instead of the "Pidgin English" at the China ports, which few comprehended, as it led frequently to serious mistakes in business as well as politics. Not only was this sensible method of oral intercourse pursued by the foreign merchants and bankers, but the missionaries began to discourse in Japanese, while one clergyman compiled an excellent dictionary in both languages, and another published a newspaper in the native characters, which, unlike the Chinese hieroglyphics, are alphabetic, consisting of forty-eight letters. This journal, projected by the Rev. Mr. Bailey of the English church, was named the 'Bankoku Shinbunshi,' and published monthly. At first its issue was on native paper, of a limited size, and small circulation. The editor avoided political disquisitions, confining his articles entirely to information, and to advocating the peaceful relations of all races, so that the character of the publication was wholly cosmopolitan. With this basis it grew in public estimation among the natives, until it reached a circulation of four thousand in its eighth number, when it was enlarged and printed on European paper, and got up in the form of a pamphlet with forty-eight pages, every alternate page having an English translation of the Japanese text, or *vice versâ*. Some idea of its contents may be gathered from the papers on current events in the number alluded to, being on the "Abyssinian expedition," "Collisions at Sea," "The Roman Question of Papal Infallibility," "Extracts from Historical Works," "Natural History," and "Advertisements." These subjects were eagerly read by the Japanese and discussed among themselves. Evidently, however, they wanted newspapers to give them their own political news of the day, like the English papers published at Yokohama, from which they gleaned more correct intelligence of their own affairs than they did from oral reports. Accordingly, a number of native newspapers were started, chiefly at Yedo, treating of the revolutionary politics of the day; but these had but an ephemeral existence, for they were speedily suppressed, and their editors punished if anything obnoxious to the Government had been published.

§ 405. *Financial difficulties of the Mikado's Government.*—Not the least important events during this revolutionary year in Japan, especially at Yokohama, were the fluctuations of money and commerce. It was to be regretted that the resources of the country should have been drained by the purchase of steamers, arms and ammunition, by both contending parties to carry on the internecine war, thereby taking the money out of its legitimate channel to carry on foreign trade. At the same time, while it lessened the profits of the peaceful branch of commerce, those merchants and diplomatic agents engaged in transactions connected with war munitions had no cause to complain. Be that as it may, the inevitable result followed, of the public treasury being exhausted of its metallic currency, on the accession of the Mikado and his Government assuming supreme power. Accordingly, the new treasurer was obliged to issue *Kinsats*, or Government notes, as a paper currency, irredeemable with coin. In at once resorting to this expedient to keep the public exchequer afloat, the financial advisers of the Government showed that they were as well acquainted with money matters as any financiers in Europe or America. These notes were issued freely, and by decree declared a legal tender; but, as usual, they fell to a discount in mercantile transactions, and that heavily where the foreign trader was concerned. The merchants at Yokohama suffered in trade so much by the issue that they requested their respective Ministers to protest against it, unless the Government kept sufficient bullion in their coffers to redeem the notes at sight. This, of course, the plenipotentiaries could not entertain, as it would have interfered with the internal affairs of the State. Moreover, if they had done so, the treasurer was impotent, not having the cash in hand; so commerce became more restricted than when the metallic currency question confined its operations.

§ 406. *Fluctuations in commerce, and French trade statistics.*—This depressed state of the money market showed itself in the decreased sales of foreign merchandise, which the importers preferred storing in the new bonded warehouses, to selling for inconvertible paper. The consequences were that the amount of imports sold—irrespective of war munitions—was less than half a million sterling; greatly under the sales of the previous year. On the other hand, the shipments and purchases of native produce reached the large amount in the aggregate

of four millions and a half sterling. This "balance of trade" being so much against the foreign merchants, they were obliged to pay for these exports in hard dollars, which exhausted their Mexican coin, while it filled the pockets of the native traders. Towards the close of the year the supplies of silk came tardily into the market, and the prices of the finest *Maïbash* quality ran up to 270*l.* per bale, which was considered an unusually high figure. This increase of prices was attributed to the demand on French account for direct shipments to France by the Messageries Impériales line of steamers, *viâ* Suez, the bulk being sent to England by the Peninsular and Oriental line. The consideration of this question was held to be of so much importance by the French Minister of commerce, M. Jaques Siegfried, that he sent a commissioner to Japan to report upon the subject. The commerce of Yokohama for this year was given by him as follows:—Principal exports: raw silk, to the extent of 1,400,000*l.*; silkworms' eggs, 600,000*l.*; tea, 400,000*l.* Imports: cotton yarn and prints, 800,000*l.*; woollen and mixed fabrics, 600,000*l.*; steam vessels and arms, 480,000*l.*; sugar from China about 120,000*l.*; wines and liquors, 40,000*l.*; rice at times from Saigon and Hong-Kong, and some cotton from China. As regarded the import trade, he stated that the French did not sufficiently understand the tastes and fashions of Japan, and, with the exception of cotton yarn and English shirtings, which were already looked upon as of first importance, the demand for goods was most uncertain. From the purport of this State document, and the action of the French Minister in Japan, M. Leon Roches, in securing contracts for naval and military expenditure, there can be no doubt that they secretly endeavoured to undermine the trade of British merchants at the treaty ports. Had the Siogoon and his Government remained in power, it is just possible that these questionable schemes of monopoly might have succeeded in placing France at the top of the Treaty Powers in the foreign relations of Japan. But our astute "Plenipotentiary and Superintendent of Trade" was alive to the emergency, and threw the overwhelming *prestige* of British power into the scale of commerce with the authorities under the Mikado. Consequently, as the French speculations collapsed, British commerce was maintained, and has held its own against all comers in Japan, increasing up to the present day.

§ 407. *Foreign and Chinese population at Nagasaki in* 1868. —From time to time the foreign community at Nagasaki were aroused from their pleasing lethargy by threatening clouds on the outskirts of the revolutionary storm. Although the town was in close proximity to the formidable Satsuma clan, who led the army against the Siogoon's forces, yet it was comparatively free from the presence of the armed classes dangerous to foreigners, in consequence of their absence at the seats of war around Kioto and Yedo. Moreover, the men charged with the murder of the British seamen belonging to H.M.S. 'Icarus' had been seized and brought to Nagasaki for trial and punishment. At the close of the year a new local weekly journal, called the 'Nagasaki Times,' gave the following return of foreign residents at the port, including the Chinese, who, however, did not all reside in the foreign settlement, but had locations in the quarters named *Yashiki* and *Chin-chee*, within the native city. British, 88; American, 42; Dutch, 32; Prussian, 18; French, 11; Portuguese, 10; and Swiss, 6; making a total of residents belonging to Western nationalities of 207. This, of course, does not include any military or naval men on shore for the protection of the community, or the sailors connected with the merchant shipping, who thronged the streets and warehouses in greater numbers on the average than the residents themselves. As to the Chinese, they were three to one of the latter, giving the settlement an aspect of being in the country of the "pig-tailed race" more than that of the sandal-footed *Toong-yan*, or "Eastern man," as John Chinaman designates a Japanese. In the foreign settlement there were 332 Chinese, chiefly employed in the warehouses of the foreign merchants, and acting as domestic servants, who had been brought over by their masters from China. These men and youths claimed a sort of protection under their employers' treaty privileges—for as yet no treaty had been concluded between Japan and China —which, though not legally acknowledged by the authorities, yet were respected in cases of dispute between them and the natives. Such, however, did not extend to the Chinese in the quarter of Yashiki to the number of 237, and that of Chin-chee mustering 60. These were all traders and others, carrying on business on their own account, and subject to restrictions and exactions similar to those under which the

Dutch were confined to the factory of De-sima for upwards of two centuries. Nevertheless, they competed with the Europeans successfully in trade, as storekeepers, ship-chandlers, and even as shippers of produce, especially tea, which passed through their hands to the China markets for export from Shanghai.

§ 408. *Excellent situation, streets, and buildings in the foreign settlement of Nagasaki.*—The plan upon which the new settlement at Nagasaki was laid out, on an eligible site overlooking the most picturesque harbour in Japan, was infinitely superior to the miserable mud flat of Yokohama. The streets were wider and naturally drained by the declivity into the sea, besides a fair system of artificial drainage to carry off the sewage. These streets were paved with stone footways, rendering them dry, and free of slush in wet weather, while the carriage ways were wide and macadamized. But the best of all improvements—what Yokohama had not yet got—was the lighting of the streets at night with gas, the lamp-posts being after the English model. All these public works were maintained at the expense of the Japanese, in consideration of the ground-rent paid by foreigners. However, there was a municipal council who had control over the native works department, but this they delegated to a Dutch resident, Mynheer van der Pole, who was appointed by them as inspector, at a liberal salary, to give his daily services in overlooking the wants of the place, and stir up the Japanese authorities when required. If his remonstrances, in cases of neglect, were not attended to, then the council convened a meeting and deliberated on the course to be taken. At one of these meetings it was resolved to represent to the Governor of Nagasaki the necessity of uniting the old Dutch prison-factory of De-sima, where the firms of that nationality were all located, with the foreign settlement, by means of bridges. Hitherto the old fan-shaped artificial islet could only be reached by boats, or around a very circuitous route. According to the plan proposed, a pedestrian could reach it in a few minutes' walk. The Governor, being an enlightened man, assented to the proposal, and the bridges were finished in a few months. Altogether the settlement at Nagasaki was the most picturesque, well-planned, clean, and salubrious foreign colony in the Far East, with a hospitable and pleasing community.

§ 409. *Pacific change of Japanese military and civil officers.*—At this port, on the change of Japanese officials from the ex-Siogoon's Government to that of the Mikado, the foreign merchants and bankers experienced none of the difficulties through the incapacity of subordinates, which their *confrères* at Yokohama did. On the contrary, the administration at the custom-house conducted business, if anything, smoother and quieter than before; while, as we have seen, the new Governor was desirous of meeting the views of the residents in an amicable manner. Moreover, the retiring military officers handed over the numerous batteries and forts, with their armaments and munitions of war intact, to their successors from the army of the Mikado. So that, on the whole, Nagasaki passed through this momentous transition period with comparative tranquillity, while the new military officers and civil officials were very friendly and obliging in their relations to the foreign community. Nor were the natives behindhand in erecting works after European models on their own account. Of these the most noticeable were the erection of steam cotton-spinning mills, at Kagosima, by Satsuma, under the superintendence of an experienced manager from Manchester. At this time it was in full work, and conducted entirely by native hands and overlookers in a most satisfactory manner. There were a hundred looms, with 3648 spindles, in operation; worked by 220 men, including engineers and overseers, all of whom showed great aptitude for the skilled labour, especially in "piecing," at which they were very expert. The quantity of calico produced was good; the quality, however, inferior to common Manchester cloths, but at the same time suitable to the native taste. Moreover, Japanese coal was being largely worked, and sold at five to six dollars per ton, for export; so that native affairs in Nagasaki and the neighbouring towns of the southern island of Kiusiu were in a prosperous state.

§ 410. *Persecution of native Christians at Nagasaki.*—The only cloud which darkened the horizon of future prospects to foreigners from the Mikado's Government, was the continuation of the native Christians in their banishment from their homes at Nagasaki and the adjoining district of Simabara, chiefly to the Goto Islands, lying between twenty and forty miles west of the Nagasaki Peninsula. These descendants of the Roman Catholic converts, two and a half centuries ago, were deported

by the reactionary Ministers in the ex-Siogoon's Government during the progress of the civil war; and were not restored to their homes until May this year (1873), which will be noticed in the last chapter. Meanwhile, it is as well to state the facts of this renewal of persecution against these unoffending people at the time, because a great many exaggerated and false reports were spread abroad, comparing it to the sanguinary holocaust of victims at the Pappenberg. It was alleged that the adherents of the Romish faith in Goto Islands were imprisoned and tortured, many dying of their sufferings rather than renounce their faith. Also at a place there, named Fonsaka-djima, a hundred and eighty men, women, and children were imprisoned and cruelly tortured; nine condemned to violent death, and others to expire by slow agony. These circumstantial accounts were disseminated as facts by the French Missionary Society, on the authority of Monseigneur Petitjean, the Vicar-Apostolic of Japan. On representation to the Government by the Foreign Ministers, these allegations were clearly refuted, as entirely without foundation. However, a remarkable native document came to light, and was translated in a new journal, called the 'Hiogo News,' published at that port, setting forth the reasons for renewing the persecution of native Christians, their numbers in Kiusiu, and those who were imprisoned in their native towns, or banished to distant districts.

§ 411. *Slow progress of the foreign settlement in the city of Osaka.*—After the precipitate evacuation of the foreign settlement planned out in Osaka by the diplomatic agents and merchants, who fled for their lives, none of the latter returned to risk their fortunes, and only a few of the former, two of whom were commercial men. It was evident, on all hands, that, as far as resident merchants were concerned, Osaka was not suitable for a prosperous settlement. In fact, the regulations for trade, requiring all imports and exports to be entered at the custom-house of Hiogo, completely destroyed any chance of doing business there at first, except such as might be transacted by an occasional visit or sending over a native agent. The bar at the entrance to the river also presented a formidable obstacle to the progress of foreign trade, as no marine insurance policy extant would cover the risk of conveying cargo across it, and experience showed that it was impassable on an average of two days out of seven. If ships had been allowed to anchor

off the mouth of the river, and cargo entered at the Osaka customs, this danger would have been in some measure avoided; for then they would not discharge unless the bar was in a favourable state, and the question would be merely one of extra lay days. As it was, a vessel might start from Hiogo anchorage, twelve miles distant, when there would be scarcely a ripple on the water, and when it arrived at the river entrance find a dangerous surf rolling over the bar; and if it made a course through it, there was the difficulty of hitting the proper time of tide, which could be easily ascertained if ships had been allowed to anchor a half-a-mile or so off—which they were prohibited from doing. Notwithstanding these obstacles, as the year wore on, and confidence returned with the Mikado's Government being established, several merchants were induced to try their fortunes again in this pleasant city, for the foreign concession was laid out on a charming site, with the river flowing past on two sides, amidst umbrageous trees. Towards the close of the year several buildings were in progress for the business offices; and residences of the foreign traders, while in the interim they and the members of the consulates had to live in native houses. The land sale consisted of twenty-six lots, of which thirteen were purchased by British, and the same number by other nationalities. At the time, however, there was hesitation on the part of some of the buyers to build, as it was still a moot question how far the city would hold its own against the facilities for commerce that the settlement adjacent to Hiogo presented to the foreign community for safety of person and property.*

§ 112. *Kobè, the site for the new settlement at Hiogo, excellent.*—Considering the deficient capabilities of Osaka to become an important open emporium of commerce, it was fortunate that the subsidiary town of Hiogo had been fixed on by the foreign Ministers as a mart of commerce. But even in the native town there was not scope for the trade expected, consequently the foreign settlement, as already mentioned, was on an adjacent eligible site named Kobè (pronounced Kobay). Here thirty-seven allotments were purchased, eleven by British and twenty-six by other nationalities. The sums realized from the sale amounted in English money to 12,360*l.*, of which one-third was

* Correspondent of 'The London and China Telegraph.'

placed to the credit of the municipal fund, and the balance went into the Japanese exchequer. This appropriation for municipal purposes was a wise step in the domestic affairs of the new settlement, which tended to avert the incessant quarrelling and grumbling among the residents as at Yokohama. Besides these salutary measures, a council was instituted for municipal purposes, comprising the foreign consuls and leading merchants, with several Japanese officials to give their attention to the laying out of the streets and constructing drainage works, in conjunction with an English gentleman whom they had appointed to the post of municipal engineer. As already noticed, the first settlers had cause to complain that their diplomatic representatives did not take sufficient pains to see that they were provided with native houses on their arrival at reasonable rates. As it was, they had to pay from six to ten times the prices current at the time among the Japanese, giving an instance of native shrewdness and overreaching, by taking advantage of the situation as much as European or American speculators would have done under similar circumstances.*

§ 413. *Progress of Hiogo-Kobè during the first year.*—In addition to a municipal council, the Hiogo residents lost no time in establishing a chamber of commerce, which published a monthly "prices current," and generally looked after the interests of foreign merchants. The press was also represented by two rival journals published in the English language, respectively named the 'Hiogo Herald' and the 'Hiogo News.' A race committee was also formed, and the first meet came off during the Christmas holidays, which were kept in English style, amidst the "feast of reason and the flow of soul," and such dishes as the native resources could command to inaugurate the festive season at this outlandish spot, where the religions of Buddha and the Sintoo gods prevailed, with the sanguinary laws that existed proscribing Christianity to the benighted inhabitants under severe pains and penalties. Communication with Osaka was kept up by a small paddle steamer which was brought from Shanghai, and named the 'Olen Maroo,' besides a screw steam-launch called the 'Gazelle.' The distance across is about twelve miles to the bar, which is only four hundred yards wide. This they could cross at all times of tide, ex-

* Correspondent of "The London and China Telegraph."

cepting when the wind blew strong from the west, or a heavy ground-swell had set in. Once over the bar the water was comparatively smooth and deep, and a landing could be effected at any point on the left bank of the Yado-gawa, for about three miles into the city of Osaka. The journey by land is some twenty-two miles, along a tolerably good road, with three ferries to cross, which were suitable for the spirited Japanese ponies—or rather diminutive horses—as already noticed. On these the foreign residents frequently performed the journey in from three to four hours, the road passing through a picturesque country not far from the margin of the bay, with imposing mountain scenery in the background. There was a native post along the route, with relays of postmen at several stations, who carried letters or messages all the way, running on foot, accomplishing the distance generally within the four hours, except when the road was thickly covered with snow in winter. The communication by sea with the other treaty ports was well sustained, no less than twenty-two steamers plying more or less—most of them British owned—through the Inland Sea to Nagasaki on the west side, along the east coast to Yokohama, and from there north to Hakodadi. Nearly all of these, however, were for immediate sale to the Japanese, and not for permanent traffic. Under the new and more settled order of things the demand for foreign steamers by the Mikado's Government and the great daimios had almost ceased, and it was not afterwards revived. However, the legitimate trade done during the year exceeded the expectations of the merchants, especially the amount of imports. At the other ports these generally figured below the exports, but the returns exhibited here were in round numbers 4,600,000 dollars for imports, and 1,500,000 dollars for exports, upwards of three to one in favour of importers. The demand for European merchandise exceeding anything elsewhere, and the readiness to adopt foreign clothing, such as hats, coats, boots, blankets, was striking, while there were few well-to-do Japanese but bought one or two watches.*

§ 414. *The tide of civil war rolls on to the island of Yeso.*—Hitherto the northern treaty port of Hakodadi was exempt from the turbulence and internecine strife between the belligerents. Towards the close of this year, however, its peaceful

* Correspondent of 'The London and China Telegraph.'

dulness was broken by the resounding tide of civil war, which rolled on portentously to this quiet harbour, and the neighbouring shores of Volcano Bay. The "rebels" having been unsuccessful in their engagements with the Mikado's troops on the mainland of Nip-pon, retreated to the island of Yeso, there to make a last stand, and endeavour to restore the power of the ancient Tokugawa clan, even though their cause was deserted by Yoshi Hisa, who had now sworn allegiance, as a retired noble, to his legitimate sovereign. As already stated, this remnant of the ex-Siogoon's forces possessed several ships of war, well manned and armed. These were under the command of Enomoto, one of the new admirals in the Japanese navy in the course of formation. He was a brave and skilful seaman, with several French naval and military officers in his service, who wrongly advised him to continue the strife. Accordingly, after being defeated at Nee-e-gata, and the island of Sado, their whole sea and land forces proceeded at the latter part of October to Awamori Bay, a spacious land-locked harbour in the extreme north of Nip-pon, within the territory of Namboo Mino *no-kami*, a daimio of the first class, with a revenue equal to 173,250*l.* per annum. Although favourable to the cause of the ex-Siogoon when in power, now that the office was abolished, and the last of these generalissimos living in retirement, he submitted to the new order of things, and remained a loyal vassal to his suzerain. The rebel squadron, consisting of six vessels, had no sooner entered the bay than the ships were fired on by the Mikado's forces encamped on shore; so they were taken out of range of the guns, and then made preparations to leave for safer harbours in the island of Yeso.

§ 415. *Skirmish between the rebels and regulars, near Hakodadi.*—While some of the ships remained in Awamori Bay, others crossed the Strait of Tsugar to reconnoitre. On the 1st of December a paddle-wheel boat ran into Hakodadi Harbour at daylight, steaming round the bay, those on board looking for the most eligible place to effect a safe landing, after which she steamed away. On the third of the month three larger vessels entered Volcano Bay by the passage outside the eastern entrance to the strait and came to an anchor off the western shore of the harbour, distant thirty miles from Hakodadi town, lying due south overland. Here a thousand men, well armed with rifles and muskets, were landed, and proceeded to march

on the town. By this time, information had reached the consuls and the Governor of Hakodadi of the threatened descent of the "Pirates," as they called them—and prompt action was taken to repel the invaders of the peaceful settlement. Fortunately at the time there was a small but well equipped Imperial garrison quartered there, and they marched out of town to meet the enemy in the field. When they reached a pass in the mountains, about halfway across, on the evening of the 4th, they came into collision. After a smart skirmish, the Mikado's troops were successful in driving back the insurgents, with some slaughter, and little loss to themselves. Meanwhile the 'Augusta' steamer was dispatched across Tsugar Strait to the mainland for reinforcements, and the 'Mona' was sent to Akita, while the native-owned armed steamer, 'Kanga no-kami,' did duty as "guard ship" in the bay. The winter had set in early and severely, covering the whole face of the country with heavy falls of snow, and rendering it unpropitious for both parties to commence a campaign. It was evident, however, that the insurgents were concentrating their forces, so as to capture Hakodadi and make it the last stronghold of the Tokugawa clan. In view of this the consuls, in order to protect foreign life and property, sent dispatches to the Ministers at Yokohama and Yedo, urgently requesting the presence of an adequate force, as there was not then, nor had been for some time, a foreign man-of-war in harbour. On receipt of these dispatches the British Admiral (Keppel) sent down the 'Argus' and 'Satellite,' which were followed by the French corvette 'Venus,' and the American corvette 'Ashuelot,' bought by the Japanese Government.

§ 416. *Capture of Hakodadi by Enomoto and the insurgent forces.*—Before reinforcements arrived in sufficient strength to cope with the insurgents, Hakodadi was captured by Admiral Enomoto and the forces under the Tokugawa partisans assisted by eight French officers. The squadron consisted of the Japanese corvette 'Kayomar,' with an armament of twenty-five rifled guns, the 'Eagle,' eight guns, and four transports, with four thousand Tokugawa soldiery on board, irrespective of the crews. Among the land force they had a company of artillery well trained to the handling of field-pieces by the French drill instructors. The ships having arrived safely in Volcano Bay, the forces were landed on the 6th of December,

and at once marched along the same road to Hakodadi, where the advanced party were defeated on the previous day. Now there was little or no opposition, but the route was troublesome, especially for their artillery, on account of the depth of snow on the ground. Although Enomoto was chief of the expedition, yet the artillery and disciplined men were under the command of Captain Brunet and seven other French officers who had been in the service of the ex-Siogoon's Government. While the land force was thus marching on Hakodadi to attack it in the rear, the squadron sailed round by Tsugar Strait into the bay. In a commanding position on the heights a strong fort had been built by the Japanese under Russian superintendence, and named *Kamida*. This was the first point of attack by the land force, and was stormed in three columns, each under its French officers, in a very masterly way. So well were the dispositions made and carried into effect, that the assault occupied but a short time, and the loss was small on either side. After a short resistance, the garrison suddenly evacuated the place, and fled on board the steamer 'Kanga no-kami,' which got up steam at once, and escaped to the westward of Tsugar Strait, before the squadron under Enomoto made its appearance by the eastern entrance. However, he entered Hakodadi Harbour in time to find the 'Ashuelot' at anchor, which he challenged to fight the 'Eagle.' Instead of doing so the commander capitulated, and he and his crew were allowed to land without molestation. In like manner the greatest care was taken by the besiegers to prevent the soldiery committing any acts of cruelty on the inhabitants, and they were specially enjoined to respect the persons and property of foreigners. At the same time, finding the steamer 'Kiangsoo,' the property of Satsuma, in harbour, they seized her as a prize, thereby adding two fine vessels to their squadron. Then Enomoto and his chief adherents, together with the French officers, took up their quarters on shore, and strengthened the fortifications and garrison, which they had overcome so easily. Thus at the close of this eventful year, the remnant of that powerful party under the ex-Siogoon was reduced to about five thousand men of all arms, determined to resist the forces of the Mikado, in the vain hope that they could secure Hakodadi as a stronghold and form an independent community in the Island of Yeso, composed of the old Tokugawa clan.

CHAPTER XXV.

1869.

CIVIL WAR ENDED — MIKADO GIVES AUDIENCE TO ENVOYS OF TREATY POWERS — POLICY OF CENTRALIZATION FORMED BY NEW GOVERNMENT — DIFFICULTIES OF THE SITUATION.

§ 417. Campaign against the insurgents deferred till spring. § 418. Foreign Envoys of Treaty Powers request audience of the Mikado. § 419. The ceremonies take place at Yedo in the depth of winter. § 420. Graphic account of the British Minister's reception, by one of his suite. § 421. Interchange of the Queen's and the Mikado's letters of congratulation. § 422. Comments of the 'Japan Times' on this important event. § 423. Plenipotentiaries withdraw the neutrality notifications. § 424. The Mikado visits Kioto, gets married, and returns to Yedo, now called To-Kiyo. § 425. Enomoto issues a manifesto to the foreign representatives. § 426. Gallant attempt of Enomoto's "Warriors" to cut out the Mikado's frigate. § 427. Bombardment and capture of Hakodadi by the Mikado's forces, and final close of the civil war. § 428. The great daimios agree to consolidate the Mikado's power by voluntarily yielding up their feudal rights. § 429. Policy of the Reform Party among the leading daimios. § 430. Memorial of the Council of Daimios to their colleagues. § 431. The policy of centralization not concurred in by all. § 432. Message of the Mikado to the first legislative assembly. § 433. A new era of peace dawns upon Japan. § 434. The Duke of Edinburgh personally entertained by the Mikado. § 435. Austrian embassy concludes a treaty. § 436. Trade paralyzed by spurious metallic and paper currency. § 437. Troubles about sanitary condition of Yokohama. § 438. Amusing fracas between the foreigners and Chinese at Nagasaki. § 439. Visit of the Duke of Edinburgh to Hiogo and Osaka. § 440. Sequel of the final struggle with the insurgents at Hakodadi. § 441. Nee-e-gata opened, but not successfully.

§ 417. *Campaign against the insurgents deferred till spring.*— Winter having set in early, and continued with unusual rigour in the more northern latitudes of the Islands of Japan, the Mikado's Government deemed it advisable to postpone active operations against the insurgents until the spring of this year; when they determined that the best of their men-of-war, forming the nucleus of the future navy, and all the available foreign disciplined troops, the vanguard of the future army, should be employed to effectually crush the rebellion. They knew that Enomoto was a valiant and skilful commander, who had five years' practical naval and military in-

struction in the services of his Netherlands Majesty. They also knew that he was aided by eight French officers, who acted as his lieutenants in command of the land force, which were entrenched in an almost impregnable position at Hakodadi, while his own squadron was increased by the two prizes he had made on first entering that harbour. Under these circumstances, it was only prudent to wait until they were prepared to strike an effectual blow, so as to end the state of anarchy in the realm, and maintain the supremacy of the reinstated Mikado as monarch *de facto* as well as *de jure* of Japan. Regarding Enomoto's loyalty to his legitimate sovereign there was no question, but he was urged on to resistance by several of the daimios, who still clung to the old cause, as their lives and domains were now compromised. Perhaps even they might have advocated the policy of surrender, but for the presence and arguments of the renegade French officers in the camp. They encouraged him to resist, and drilled his followers in the European art of war; and so great was their *prestige* in this respect, that they inspired both officers and men with such confidence in their prowess, and the natural Gibraltar-like position of their stronghold, that they considered it invulnerable.

§ 418. *Foreign Envoys of Treaty Powers request audience of the Mikado, which is granted.*—While these dying embers of the revolution were about being extinguished in the northern islands, the Mikado remained with his great councillors of State at the newly-named capital of To-kiyo, but which foreigners continued to call by its old name of Yedo. In the bay which forms a land-locked harbour to that great city and the adjacent foreign settlement of Yokohama, a magnificent fleet of European and American men-of-war lay at anchor; and the Ministers of all the Treaty Powers had their residences on shore, under the protection of his Japanese Majesty's soldiers, besides the guards of the English and French Legations. The year 1868 had just come to a close, when the Foreign Ministers deemed it a fitting opportunity to signify to his Majesty, through his chief counsellor of State, that they were desirous of having audiences to present their credentials, and give assurances on behalf of their Governments to continue amicable relations with the Mikado and his subjects. A favourable reply was vouchsafed, and the 5th of January, 1869, was fixed

on as the day set apart for the reception. Accordingly, on that day, the whole of the Foreign Ministers in succession held audiences with the youthful Sovereign. The choice of precedence was specially offered by his colleagues to the British Minister, when he elected to take his audience last. It is interesting to learn in what manner this State ceremony was performed, as it has been the precursor of an advanced state of civilization and intercourse with foreign nations that has dawned upon the "Land of the Rising Sun." As we are furnished by an eye-witness belonging to the suite of Sir Harry Parkes with an unvarnished account of the incidents of the occasion, it is worthy of being placed on record to dispel the illusions of imaginative writers, who have depicted such exaggerated ideas of the pomp and circumstance that nowhere have been seen or found among the palaces or retinue of the monarch or nobility of this unostentatious oligarchy of Japan.

§ 419. *The ceremonies take place at Yedo in the depth of winter.*—Although the Japanese Isles are not far short of twenty degrees of latitude in more southern or warmer parallels than the British Isles, yet in winter they are quite as cold generally, and in the extreme north colder when the winds blow from the Tartarian mountains. The grand ceremony taking place, therefore, in the midst of winter, the procession of our Minister from the British Legation to the Mikado's Palace was shorn greatly of its intended grandeur in consequence of the inclemency of the weather. The *cortége* started about noon, and was formed of two companies of marine artillery and marines from H.M.S. 'Ocean,' as the advance and rear guards. The mounted escort of the legation rode immediately in front of the British Minister and his suite, together with twelve officers of the navy and army, while in the extreme front and rear marched about two hundred Japanese troops. The line of march was admirably preserved from all intrusion, and at the entrances to cross streets ropes were stretched and guards stationed, where large numbers of the populace had assembled to witness the procession. Here we give our eye-witness's simple but graphic sketch of the affair, as follows.

§ 420. *Graphic account of British Minister's reception, by one of his suite.*—"The distance from the Legation to the Palace—about three miles and a half—was traversed at a foot pace

under a steady fall of sleet and snow, but parade being impervious to prudence, nobody made use of the cloak his *betto* (Japanese groom) carried beside him, so that we arrived at the palace in a state of utter congelation. Then passing within the massive walls, we found ourselves at last in those sacred precincts so long barred against all foreign contamination. From the outer gate to the inner keep, where the Mikado now resides, one traverses fully half a mile of devious road, threading its way through long lines of huge barracks and *yashikis* (daimios' houses). If these buildings were ever proportionate to the troops they contained, their extent and dimensions bear infallible evidence of the might of a feudatory who could thus pour forth no mean army from the walls of his palace. Now, however, there is no appearance of life, and through ranges of sombre edifices a universal silence and desolation prevails. Arriving at the drawbridge and moat of the inner donjon, some symptoms of ceremony presented themselves in the form of mauve-coloured banners, bearing the Mikado's crest, and festooned over the gates and arches. Here all the Japanese officers were obliged to dismount and proceed on foot, but we riding about fifty yards farther, reached the steps of the royal residence itself. Ascending these, we found ourselves in a handsome vestibule, or waiting-room, whose walls were lined with beautifully-painted screens, and where—most welcome sight—was placed a long table with chairs and innumerable *habashis* (small stoves), to thaw our frozen limbs. Here we were supplied with tea, cakes, and tobacco. . . . Passing by suites of apartments, looking beautifully fresh and clean—but, so far as variety of furniture is concerned, differing nothing from the furniture of a good tea-house—we entered a spacious hall, in the centre of which, on a raised platform, stood the throne. Certainly, if sombre stillness and ghastly rigour be the distinctive circumstances of dignity, then, indeed, dignity was here personified. On first entering, the throne became, of course, an object of universal scrutiny; but in a moment one was astonished to find that his mind, excluding all other ideas, had become imbued with one morbid question: 'Is it a man or a mummy that sits under that canopy swathed in masses of crape and silk?—whose stiff folds and angles refuse to acknowledge the most shadowy presence of animation?' . . . Certainly it was not without considerable scrutiny,

and no small disappointment, that we at length disentangled from among dress and duskiness the features of a worn-out, languid-looking boy, to whom life had apparently already told its secrets and their sequels, and in whose face, whether from training or indifference, no symptom of vitality or interest presented itself from first to last. On either side of the throne stood a line of princes and *kuges* (nobles), who also carried out the principle of stolid immobility even as far as the long wings of their head-dresses.

§ 421. *Interchange of the Queen's and the Mikado's letters of congratulation.*—"Sir Harry having presented himself, did the like for Captain Stanhope, R.N., and Colonel Norman, C.B., introducing all the remainder collectively. Then the chief interpreter, who stood beside the throne, read from a paper the Mikado's speech, a few words, inquiring for Queen Victoria's health, expressing satisfaction at the friendly intercourse existing, and hoping that it might always continue undisturbed. Sir Harry, in reply, spoke briefly and pertinently. He thanked the Mikado in the Queen's name for his gracious expressions, expressed Her Majesty's wishes for the maintenance of friendly relations with Japan, congratulated the Mikado on his arrival in the eastern capital of his empire, and hoped that the return of peace would tend to the development of commerce, and to the mutual benefit of England and Japan. After this we bowed ourselves out, were again served with tea and cakes, and finally started for the palace of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, where a succession of dinners in Japanese and English style occupied our attention till five o'clock in the evening."

§ 422. *Comments of the 'Japan Times' on this important event.*—Commenting upon this important event, the 'Japan Times'—which published the account—ventured to make the following appropriate remarks:—"The immense political and social significance of this movement cannot be underrated. Above all should it be fairly recognized as a pledge given by the party of progress to foreigners, of the sincerity of their professions of friendship and anxiety to assimilate the system of Government in Japan to that prevailing in the best governed countries in the civilized world. It is impossible, after so complete a concession, to doubt their wish to adopt a constitutional basis for their future work, and that this appearance of the Mikado in public will shortly be followed by the assembly of representa-

tive chambers, may be considered almost as certain. But we must be careful not to attempt interference. We must be patient, and allow the able statesmen who have done so much to take their own time for doing more. It is certain that they have had great difficulty in inaugurating these reforms, and have overcome the strongest possible objections to their introduction."

§ 423. *Plenipotentiaries withdraw the neutrality notifications.*—The representatives of the leading Treaty Powers, seeing that the rebellion was virtually ended, and the hereditary monarch with his Government were both *de jure* and *de facto* the rulers of Japan, officially announced the termination of the struggle, and their withdrawal of the neutrality notifications issued at the outbreak of the civil war in the previous year. Thus the Mikado was recognized by the foreign Ministers at his Court, as the legitimate sovereign with whom to treat in future, expunging the name of "Tycoon" from the articles of the revised treaties. This, added to their formal audiences of his Majesty, had in the eyes of the Japanese, given to his Government a pledge of support of great significance; while his presence in the ancient city of the Siogoons had its due effect in reconciling so eminently conservative a people as the Japanese to the altered state of affairs.

§ 424. *The Mikado visits Kioto, gets married, and returns to reside permanently in Yedo with his wife.*—Having performed the duties required of him in resuming the ancient sovereignty of Japan, the Mikado returned to his western capital *Sai-Kiyo*, or Kioto, for a temporary sojourn, in order to perform certain rites in honour of the *manes* of his deceased father, and thereafter to take unto himself a wife. After an absence of two months, he returned to his eastern capital of To-kiyo, there to take up his permanent abode, and assemble around him the great daimios who had restored him to power; so that the city shortly afterwards began to assume a more flourishing condition, if it did not equal its population and grandeur in the palmy days of its former master; for assuredly it was, and again may be, what the Mikado truly states in his proclamation, "the most populous, and the wealthiest city in the Eastern empire," not excepting Peking, the metropolis of China.

§ 425. *Enomoto issues a manifesto to the foreign representatives.*—Meanwhile Enomoto and his confederates proceeded to establish themselves in Hakodadi and other parts of Yeso

island, of which the foreign representatives were apprised in a pacific manifesto given in the following translation:—"We shall at once proceed to establish our officers and soldiers in convenient establishments around Hakodadi, and in the interior of the island. We shall only leave to the Mikado's officers the places necessary for them to carry on official business with the European representatives. Thus we shall immediately take possession in Yeso of all that is Japanese, and we shall not occupy ourselves as yet with foreign affairs until the arrival of the Mikado's reply (to a document warning his Ministry of the movement). Circumstances have certainly marked our place to be in Yeso. We are, therefore, come hither with our best land and sea warriors to commence its organization. At the same time we have warned our friends in Nip-pon, so that our new colony will grow rapidly under the protection of our fleet and our army. In fact, crowds of people of all ranks, who are without employment will come to live under our administration, and will assist us in properly developing the country. Soon or late this enterprise must have been undertaken by a sufficient body of Japanese, since the isle of Yeso does not contain enough civilized inhabitants. We have thought well to write to you, that you should properly understand the good intentions of our hearts, and that in your own hearts you should desire the success of our work of civilization." Of course no notice was taken officially of this manifesto by any of the foreign diplomatists; but it was satisfactory to know that the insurgents respected the safety of their lives and the traders' persons and property. In like manner the Mikado's advisers sent no reply as expected, while they actively prepared for the campaign, which, as will be seen presently, was well known to the gallant Enomoto.

§ 426. *Gallant attempt of Enomoto's "warriors" to "cut out" the Mikado's frigate.*—On the 12th of April, the Mikado's fleet, comprising eight heavily-armed ships, well manned, anchored in Miyako Bay, on its way to Awamori Bay, which commands the entrance of Hakodadi Bay. Part of the insurgent squadron, under the direction, if not command, of French naval officers, being on the *qui vive*, made a bold attempt to surprise the fleet on the 6th of May, and cut out the iron-clad frigate 'Stonewall Jackson.' It is just possible that they might have succeeded in the attempt to board the vessel, but for an accident which happened to the 'Eagle,' the insurgent steamer, making the

attack. After reconnoitring for some time, and seeing that no preparations were made to receive her, the commander ordered on a full head of steam, came straight into the harbour, and drove stem on to the "ram-frigate," demolishing her own bows without injuring the iron sides of the 'Stonewall Jackson.' An attempt was then made by the crew to board the "ram," under cover of a heavy fire of musketry, but it was unsuccessful, every man who reached the deck being immediately cut down. Soon afterwards the 'Eagle' steamed out of Miyako Bay in such a crippled condition as to render her unserviceable for immediate action. Her officers and crew also suffered considerably, as they were under a sharp fire of rifles at about pistol-shot range. Of seven foreigners noticed on her bridge when she went into action three were seen to fall, and none of the boarders that attempted to seize the frigate escaped with life. Two insurgent gun-boats were hovering about outside during the fight, but did not enter the bay, which is in the province of Mootsoo, on the most northerly Pacific shore of the island of Nip-pon. As soon as steam could be got up on board the Mikado's fleet, and the men who had been on land shipped, the vessels got under weigh in pursuit of the enemy, excepting one which carried forty wounded men back to Yedo. However, they did not overtake any of them, but got safely into Awamori Bay, through the east entrance of Tsugar Strait. The vessels had their decks hampered with firewood, tubs of *saki* and provisions, which no doubt was reported to Enomoto, who promptly took advantage of their unpreparedness, but unsuccessfully.

§ 427. *Bombardment and capture of Hakodadi by the Mikado's forces, and final close of the civil war.*—From this daring attack upon the Mikado's fleet it was evident to the Government that they had a skilful and desperate enemy to contend with. Accordingly reinforcements by sea and land were dispatched to the scene of operations, so that an overwhelming force should effectually crush the rebellion. This delayed the final action until the middle of June, when Hakodadi and its fortifications were recaptured; but not without six days' fighting, during which the besieged displayed great bravery, and only succumbed to superior strength and numbers. The day previous to the capture Enomoto offered to capitulate with his men upon certain terms, which were rejected by the Mikado's commander-in-chief; but they were leniently dealt with after being taken

prisoners and disarmed. As each man gave up his weapons he wrote his name on a tally, which was attached, so that he might afterwards receive them if qualified to bear arms in defence of his legitimate sovereign. They were chiefly young men, many merely lads of seventeen or eighteen. In action they were a motley ragged band, mostly clothed in English slops, such as prevail at the Minories. There was much sympathy for them among their victorious countrymen, and it transpired that during the previous night some of the Mikado's troops smuggled in supplies of rice, charcoal, water, and fish to the occupants of Fort Kamida, who were in a famishing condition. As to the Frenchmen taken prisoners, these were demanded by the French Minister in Japan from the Mikado's Government, who handed them over on condition that they would be punished by their own authorities. It is reported that none of the eight officers of the French army and navy were killed or wounded in the engagements, as they considered "discretion the better part of valour," and kept themselves well out of harm's way.

§ 428. *The great daimios agree to consolidate the Mikado's power by voluntarily yielding up their feudal rights.*—Notwithstanding this consolidation of the sovereign power, with a Central Government at Yedo, it was apparent to the astute statesmen who had accomplished the task, that it was incomplete as long as the great daimios held a semi-independent power in the provinces. Accordingly, Satsuma, Chosiu, Tosa, and other great daimios, voluntarily agreed to surrender their ancient feudal rights into the hands of the Mikado, together with their military and naval forces, so as to strengthen the Central Power, and divest refractory nobles of their physical force to resume future internecine wars. Moreover, in surrendering these rights, the daimios gave up also certain lands from which they derived the large incomes whereby they maintained their bodies of armed followers, each noble retaining just sufficient hereditary domain to enable him to support the dignity of his family. According to the manifesto setting forth these important changes in the realm, the nobles declared that it was to enable their country "to take its place side by side with the other countries of the world." This patriotic sentiment is deserving of the highest commendation, coming as it does from those who had freely given up rank, power, and

wealth for the benefit of the State. As a bloodless act in the Japanese Revolution, it is worthy of all praise in the cause of humanity; and as a political change in the anomalous constitution of the country, it stands foremost in the advancement of civilization. On the other hand, it extinguished a class of nobility who had hitherto prevented the development of the Sovereign Power of the realm, by absorbing the national revenues to support armed levies for carrying on faction fights. It may now be said that this formidable power in the State is extinguished, and that the daimios as a class no longer exist.

§ 429. *Policy of the leading daimios of the Reform Party.*—In order to understand this act of allegiance to the sovereign authority by the feudal nobility, and their voluntary surrender of their rights to consolidate the new *régime*, it is necessary to go a little more into detail. These powerful daimios having destroyed the power of the *maire du palais*, they now sought to destroy feudalism, and prove their earnestness by themselves placing in the Mikado's hands their lands, revenues, and followers. His divine right was still reverently acknowledged. They said, "The place where we live is the land of the Mikado, and the food which we eat is grown by his subjects. How, then, can we make the lands we possess our own?" But instead of arrogating to themselves a reflection of this "divine right," and standing on their inherited possession, they condemned the division of territory as fatal to general prosperity. With noble candour they declared, in a joint manifesto, that "the various daimios have used their lands and their people for their own purposes. Different laws," they stated, "had obtained in different 'daimioships'; and the civil and criminal laws varied within their boundaries. The ancient 'clans,' or hereditary followers of each chief feudatory, had been denominated the "Screens of the Country"—that is, its defenders—"but in truth they had caused its division. The internal relations having been confused, the strength of the country has been disunited and severed. Let those who wish to show their loyalty and faith," repeats the memorial, headed by the President of the Council of Daimios, "that they may firmly establish the foundations of the new Imperial Government,"—as embodied in the following joint scheme for the consolidation of the executive and legislative administrations, under the supreme authority of the Mikado,—

§ 430. *Memorial of the Council of Daimios to their colleagues.* —"1st. Let them restore the territories which they have received from the Mikado, and return to a constitutional and undivided country. 2nd. Let them abandon their titles, and under the name of *Kizoku* (persons of honour) receive such small properties as may suffice for their wants. 3rd. Let the officers of the clans, abandoning their titles, call themselves officers of the Mikado; receiving property equivalent to that which they had hitherto held. Let these three important measures be adopted forthwith, that the realm may be raised on a basis imperishable for all ages." A striking feature in the political changes proposed in this memorial was the fact of its originating with the feudal barons, instead of the people, as was the case under similar circumstances in Europe. The monarchs in these mediæval times held in check, and eventually overthrew, the power of the feudal chiefs, by aid of the town communities and of the Churchmen, who were always opposed to the principles of feudalism. But in Japan the chiefs themselves came forward to suggest the change, while the middle classes appeared as inactive spectators. The fact that the movement was the result of external influence rather than of internal conception may explain the difference. It was not, as in England, a protest by the industrial classes against lawless oppression, but was a copy of the more enlightened polity seen by the Japanese Envoys who had visited Europe to prevail there. It is interesting to note in this memorial that some of the feudatories were created in the earlier days of the Siogoons; the founders of this obsolete power "divided the country among their kinsmen," while "others said that their possessions were the prize of their spears and bows, as if they had entered storehouses and stolen the treasures therein, boasting to the soldiers by whom they were surrounded that they had done this regardless of their lives."

§ 431. *The policy of centralization of the Mikado's powers not concurred in by all the feudal nobles.*—It must not be concluded, however, that the whole body of daimios followed up the movement commenced by Satsuma and his high colleagues. Many of the lesser nobles held back; but, what was important, the higher nobility who gave in their adhesion at the outset, represented revenues valued at more than one-half the aggregate amount of the whole—which in round numbers may be put

down at twelve millions sterling. We are not in possession of further statements on that head, but from the general progress of the movement few of the wealthy daimios held back. Hitherto no undue pressure had been brought to bear on those loyal daimios who dissented from the movement to restore their fiefs to the Sovereign, but it was just possible that this might be done by the great council of provincial representatives which formed what may be called the Japanese Parliament, consisting entirely of the daimio class. On the other hand, the lands and revenues of those who had been disloyal during the revolution—such as Idzu and Enomoto—had been confiscated. The House of Representatives consisted of 276 members, each representing a clan or daimiate, and elected by its councillors. As yet the people at large are unrepresented. Evidently it was intended to constitute it after the model of a European House of Representatives, to which the Sovereign communicates his views by message through his Ministers. At the opening of the Chamber at Yedo there were upwards of two hundred members present, when the following message from the Mikado was read by the President:

§ 432. *Message of His Majesty the Mikado to the first legislative assembly under the new régime.*—"Being on the point of visiting our eastern capital, we have convened the nobles of our Court and the various princes in order to consult them on the means of establishing the foundations of peaceful Government. The laws and institutions are the basis of Government. The petitions of the people at large cannot be lightly decided. It has been reported to us that brief rules and regulations have been fixed upon for the Parliament, and it seems good to us that the House should be opened at once. We exhort you to respect the laws of the House, to lay aside all private and selfish considerations; to conduct your debates with minuteness and firmness; above all things to take the laws of our ancestors as a basis. Adapt yourselves to the feelings of men and the spirit of the times. Distinguish clearly between those matters which are of immediate importance and those which may be delayed, between things that are less urgent and those which are pressing. In your several capacities argue with careful attention. When the results of your debates are communicated to us it shall be our duty to confirm them." Of course this message was framed by his youthful Majesty's Ministers. It was

creditable to their deliberative wisdom at the inauguration of a reformed policy by the new Government. While it so far foreshadowed a radical change in the polity of the administration and legislature, yet it was conservative in upholding the "laws of our ancestors" as a basis for their deliberations. How far the latter element has been maintained will be seen in the sequel, where the progress of the former has been not only by rapid steps, but by bounds, which have left the almost obsolete, despotic, and sanguinary policy of the past immeasurably behind, and never likely to be again revived. Still at this juncture it was a judicious step in the right direction, indicative of the astuteness and cautiousness of the statesmen who surrounded the royal throne.

§ 433. *A new era of peace dawns upon the "Land of the Rising Sun."*—After fifteen years, in which Japan underwent the violent throes of State revolution, she now emerged from her scenes of internecine strife, and, from her culminated political position, turned her back on the turmoil of the past, and beheld the dawn of a new era of peace upon her beautiful "Land of the Rising Sun." The Mikado's Government were now thoroughly established beyond the chance of a counter-revolution, while the deliberations in the new "House of Peers" were of a pacific and conciliatory character, especially in adjudicating on the claims of their colleagues who had not given in their allegiance. Law and order were being vigorously though leniently enforced by the Executive, so that there was no longer any necessity in travelling through the country to have large armed escorts. An instance of this occurred in the highest quarters during the progress of the Mikado's consort, Haru-Go, then nineteen years of age, on her journey from Kioto to Yedo, to take up her abode with her husband for the future at his eastern capital, or "To-kiyo." Her guard and attendants scarcely numbered one thousand, where during the *régime* of the Siogoons it would have been ten times that number, even if the escort of a great daimio. Yet the passage of this train along the great highway for three hundred miles arrived at its destination without the slightest molestation. When the procession passed along the road close to Yokohama, the foreign residents observed that it was of simple and modest proportions compared with the quasi-royal cortéges of the Siogoon's wives. It was all the more interesting, as it indi-

cated that the days of sanguinary feudal grandeur were at an end, and, what was significant, a reign of economy in regal expenditure had set in.

§ 434. *His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh personally entertained by His Majesty the Mikado.*—At this auspicious time His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh arrived in Japanese waters on board H.M.S. 'Galatea,' a smart frigate in the British navy, of which he was captain. On the 29th of August that gallant ship steamed into Yokohama Harbour, saluting the flag of Admiral Keppel, and the British squadron under his command. On landing, he was received privately by Sir Harry Parkes, and next day the royal standard was hoisted on board the 'Galatea,' and saluted by every man-of-war in harbour, as well as by the fort of Kanagawa. An address was presented to His Royal Highness by the British residents, which was graciously responded to. He then drove in a carriage to Yedo, accompanied by Sir Harry Parkes, and escorted by a guard of honour from the British Legation. One of the palatial residences of the late Siogoons, called *Hamagoten*, was specially fitted up for the reception of the Prince, where he was sumptuously entertained during his stay in the city. His first ceremonial act was to pay a visit to His Majesty the Mikado, who received him upon terms of equality in the great audience chamber of the castle. Both stood, and the Japanese monarch welcomed the son of Queen Victoria in a cordial speech. After a suitable reply the audience ended, and the two princes retired to a pavilion in the gardens, together with the Admiral, the Minister, and an interpreter from the Legation. The latter gentlemen surprised His Majesty, it being the first time he had heard a foreigner speak Japanese. The interview was a long one, and at parting the duke presented him with a magnificent diamond jewelled snuff-box, which the Mikado received with evident delight. This was the only public appearance of the Prince, as he visited Yedo thoroughly *incognito* during a fortnight, and afterwards left for Hiogo and Osaka.

§ 435. *Austrian Embassy arrives and concludes a treaty between the Mikado and the Emperor.*—Scarcely had Britain's Sailor Prince taken his departure from Yedo Gulf when the ambassador of the Emperor of Austria arrived to negotiate a treaty between his august master and the island monarch of the Far East. His Excellency came with a right royal and imperial

suite on board the frigates 'Erzherzog Friedrich' and 'Donau,' which were under his command as admiral, the Baron von Petz, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. His staff consisted of Flag-captain von Wipplinger, Captain von Pitner, Dr. Scherzer, Chief Commissioner for the commercial and scientific department, Herr von Calice, the Consul-General and *chargé d'affaires ad interim* for Japan, Baron Herbert, Counsellor of Legation, Baron Trautenberg, Secretary of Legation, and Baron Rausonnet *attaché*. They arrived on the 2nd of October, and were received with all due honour by the Japanese authorities, who located them in a suitable residence at Yedo. After preliminary negotiations, conducted on the most friendly and courteous manner by the Japanese plenipotentiaries, Sawa Jinsan Kiyowara Nobuyoshi and Terashima Jin-shi-i-Fujiwara Munomori, the ambassador and suite were presented in grand audience to His Majesty the Mikado, who said a few courteous words on receiving his credentials. Two days afterwards the treaty was signed, and a choice collection of Austro-Hungarian articles of arts and manufactures were presented to His Majesty. They were of great variety, and of very considerable value. Conspicuous among them were a marble statue, life-size, of the Emperor and King, by Caur, a splendid pianoforte by Bosendorfer, Hungarian harness and richly ornamented *shabracks*, and some sixty beautifully printed volumes from the imperial press at Vienna on scientific subjects. The statue excited great wonder and admiration. The Minister for Foreign Affairs sent a special letter to the ambassador thanking him in the name of the Mikado for the presents generally, and stating that he had been directed to take special charge of the statue and preserve it for all time, as an Imperial treasure. The piano was also particularly admired, and the Mikado having expressed his desire to hear some music, Baron Rausonnet, *attaché* to the Embassy, a first-rate amateur musician, played several pieces on it, to the delectation of the Mikado and the high dignitaries of his Court. This instrument he presented to his consort, who received instructions in playing on it from one of the official musicians taught by a foreigner, since when she is said to have attained a tolerably good proficiency as a pianist. The most useful of the gifts, the books, were for the library of the Japanese Institute for Foreign Sciences, a full-fledged establishment, which had already made good progress.

Some works on medicine and surgery were sent to the hospital, together with a number of surgical instruments and scientific apparatus. On the day after the treaty was signed, an autograph letter, the first which the Mikado had ever written to a foreign sovereign, was received by the Envoy to be forwarded to the Emperor. In it he expressed his particular satisfaction at having concluded a treaty with Austria, whose principal object was the development of commerce.* An important proviso was included in this treaty—the thirteenth concluded with Foreign Powers—to the effect that consuls should not be merchants in active business. No objection was raised by the Austrian Envoy. But it was an indirect censure upon the Consuls for America, Holland, Spain, Portugal, and other States, who did not hesitate to use their official position for petty advantages in trade, which British Consuls are prohibited from doing.

§ 436. *Trade paralyzed by spurious metallic and paper currency.*—While the Japanese politicians were busy improving the constitution of the country and discussing domestic policy, they were neglecting foreign interests, especially in the important question of currency. Nothing was done during the year to improve the position of merchants and bankers in this respect, and trade remained, consequently, in a state of languor and suspense. All speculative business was necessarily stopped; the native merchant being unwilling to part with his coin, which might be replaced in his following month's account by others of less purchasing power; and few transactions took place, except to meet immediate wants. The Foreign Ministers were hard at work, endeavouring to instil into the minds of their native colleagues sound principles of finance, and to induce them either to give some guarantee that they would not further debase the coinage, or to call in the issue then circulating. But the accumulated debt incurred in 1868 to carry on the civil war, and to suppress the rebellion in 1869, pressed most heavily upon the Government Exchequer, and the necessity of replenishing an exhausted treasury was irresistible. The readiest way of doing so was to issue a spurious coin, which was done; and the remonstrances setting forth the damage it was doing to foreign trade had no effect upon the

* 'Japan Times.'

Government. It was their policy to look after the domestic interests of the country first, even in this respect, only they were not sufficiently acquainted with practical finance to see that, by diminishing the purchasing power of the currency, they raised the cost of living among the people, thereby creating some discontent. However, by means of debased coin and inconvertible paper *Kinsats*, they managed to tide over their pecuniary difficulties, which were ultimately overcome by raising a foreign loan.

§ 437. *Troubles about sanitary condition of Yokohama.*—Next to the difficulties attending the debased currency, the foreign residents at Yokohama had continual trouble with the new native officials in carrying out the improvements in the settlement. The old municipal council did all that was possible for it to do with the limited funds it had at command. It only gave up office when its estimates for the coming year's expenses were found to be exceeding its anticipated income. The Japanese then took the settlement in hand with specious promises of making sanitary and useful improvements, but they squandered their means ignorantly and recklessly without showing any material results for it. According to their own account, they spent three times as much money on roads, scavenging, and police, as their foreign predecessors had done; but these were in a more inefficient state than before the settlement was handed over to them. When the treaties of Great Britain and France came into operation in 1860, it was stipulated that for the ground-rents, which were rated high, the native authorities should drain the settlement, and keep the roads in repair. For nine years up to this date they had received these ground-rents annually, but not a drain was laid or a road repaired. The foreign residents had just cause for complaint in this matter, as it not only injured the facilities of trade, but affected the health of the community. Strong pressure was brought to bear upon the local authorities, but they were tardy in carrying out the treaty obligations.

§ 438. *Amusing fracas between the foreigners and Chinese at Nagasaki.*—Affairs at Nagasaki during the year were dull and tranquil compared with previous years, in consequence of the tide of war having rolled to the northward. In the absence of anything like sanguinary deeds of arms, there was some amusing excitement created in the foreign settlement from

excessive discharges of fireworks by the Chinese settlers. It is well known that these people have been votaries of pyrotechny from time immemorial, and the inventors of gunpowder as its chief element. On all occasions of births, marriages, holidays, and other occasions for rejoicing, they have a custom of firing off crackers to drive off any evil spirits hovering about: a practice unpleasing to the ear and dangerous to ignitable property, from which many serious fires have resulted at the open ports in China. British Consuls and residents have always considered this custom a dangerous nuisance. On the occasion of a *grand feu-de-joie* among the "Sons of Han" located at Nagasaki, Her Majesty's Consul prosecuted some of the leading Chinamen at the Japanese court, and they were fined ten dollars each. However, the firing of crackers was continued, as all the Consuls were not unanimous in suppressing the nuisance, and the question was referred to the Ministers at Yedo, while the Japanese Governor returned the fines, as he did not know what to do with the money, besides being illegal to levy. Ultimately the nuisance was suppressed by municipal authority, and the Japanese sent round a circular to the treaty consuls, requesting that all the Chinese within the precincts of the settlement, whether servants or traders, be registered at the custom-house. Although the Chinese were in the majority of all other aliens put together, yet no international treaty existed between their Emperor and the Mikado. This important want, however, has been provided for within the present year (1873), not by a Chinese Ambassador negotiating at Yedo, but by a Japanese Ambassador going to Peking. This is significant, as showing that Japan still looks up to her colossal and venerable progenitor China, to whom she formerly paid tribute, as a vassal of the Whang Tee or Great Emperor. By the new treaty this is expunged. Yet, though Japan is a thoroughly independent State, it cannot—as already remarked—lay claim to be called an empire, having no rule over any subordinate or tributary kingdom.

§ 439. *Visit of the Duke of Edinburgh to Hiogo and Osaka.*—Although the new settlement at Hiogo was more than five hundred miles distant from the field of operations in the last act of the revolution, yet at times the residents became alarmed at the presence of large contingents of the southern forces embarking and disembarking, as it was a convenient port for

them coming down or going up the Inland Sea. On these occasions the foreigners had to arm themselves for defence, as there was seldom a man-of-war in harbour to protect them, but fortunately they were never called upon to use their firearms. When the Duke of Edinburgh arrived on the 19th of September, in the 'Galatea,' with Admiral Keppel in the dispatch-boat 'Salamis,' they became reassured, and gave His Royal Highness a cordial reception. In like manner the consular officers and Japanese authorities at Osaka paid him every honour and attention. Returning to Kobè, the Prince entertained Wutu Nonoski, the Governor of Hiogo, on board his ship. Like the other treaty ports, trade here was paralyzed by the unsatisfactory state of the currency, especially in the imports of textile fabrics; while the transition state of affairs had not altogether settled the minds of tea and silk merchants to bring large supplies to market for export. It was a hand-to-mouth trade with both foreigners and natives.

§ 440. *Sequel of the final struggle with the insurgents at Hakodadi.*—It has already been shown that Hakodadi for the first time sustained the unenviable pre-eminence of being the most disturbed of all the treaty ports during the year, and it may be said since they were first opened. Very little has to be added to the account given, but it is pleasing to record that in return for the attention shown to the wounded at the capture of the town, the Mikado presented Captain Ross of H.M.S. 'Pearl' with a sword, the surgeons with fine lacquer cases, and some of the officers with rolls of crape. As to the fate of the gallant Enomoto and his chief adherents, O-ngasawara Iki *no-kami*, Nagai Gemba *no-kami*, and one or two others who were at the head of the Tokugawa party at Hakodadi, they were taken prisoners, and condemned to be decapitated; but lenient counsels prevailed, and the punishment was commuted to banishment and confiscation of their property. Of the inferior prisoners, all were allowed to return to their homes on declaring their allegiance to the Mikado, excepting about one hundred, who were decapitated at Yedo; however, it was averred, not from political but criminal offences of which they were guilty. Although none of these rebels were deported to the Island of Yeso, which they were desirous of colonizing, yet the Government sent down two foreign steamers with a large number of emigrants to its most northern districts. The object was to

preserve that part of the island, inhabited only by a few semi-savage Ainos, from the suspected encroachments of the Russians, who had already taken military possession of the greater part of the more northern Island of Saghalien. Two years previously they occupied a settlement in Salmon Cove, indenting its southern shores, at a distance of forty miles to the south-east of which lies the town of Bussie, a considerable fishing-station, inhabited by Ainos under Japanese rule. Upon the pretext that military tenure alone could furnish a recognizable claim to legal possession, a Russian force of about two hundred men, with guns, ammunition, and provisions, were landed there some two months prior to the departure of the Japanese to the north of Yeso, on the opposite shore of La Perouse Strait, where they could see them erecting barracks and dwellings. There was cause, therefore, for apprehension that they might establish a military post on Yeso.

§ 441. *Nee-e-gata the sixth port opened, but not successfully.* —At the convention of Hiogo it was agreed that the port of Nee-e-gata, on the west coast of Nip-pon, in 38° N. lat., should be opened this year. Owing to the disturbed state of the country, the foreign mercantile community looked on with indifference to the opening on the first day of the year, and it was not until the latter months that any traders ventured to settle there. For the same reason the Japanese authorities had neglected to make even the ordinary preparations for shipping and landing cargo. The so-called "Port of Nee-e-gata" being an open roadstead, without shelter, sailing-vessels could be induced only to accept freight for the place with difficulty, though the Island of Sado served as a port of refuge. A trial made during the early part of the year to discharge cargo under the shelter of Sado into lighters turned out unfortunately, and most of them were lost in the attempt. Nevertheless articles of import were landed in favourable weather, and these realized high prices. Several vessels were chartered to load with rice, but, that essential article of food being scarce, the Government prohibited its exportation, notwithstanding the protests of the Foreign Ministers. All these proceedings tended to check trade with the inhabitants, who were anxious to deal with the foreigners. The convenient and cheap means of inland transport would have made a settlement there the natural market for the products of the surrounding provinces,

so that the native traders would prefer supplying their wants of foreign goods direct rather than import them overland from Yokohama. The valley, also, in which Nee-e-gata is situated contains several petroleum springs of large extent, which being easily approached by a branch of the River Shinano-gawa, would afford a cheap transport for the oil. Notwithstanding these resources it struggled on for a short time only, and was ultimately abandoned by the few consuls and foreign residents who had ventured there.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1870.

THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT AND LEGISLATURE PURSUE ACTIVELY THEIR WORK OF REFORM — COUNTRY IN A TRANSITION STATE — TRADE AT TREATY PORTS DULL.

§ 442. The Government and Legislature begin their task of reform. § 443. Constitution and rules of the new Japanese Legislature. § 444. Division of the Japanese Parliament into committees. § 445. Prospects of the vexed currency question being adjusted. § 446. Negotiations for constructing a railway between Yedo and Yokohama. § 447. An English inspector of mines appointed by Government. § 448. Native worked coal-mines on the Island of Taka Sima, near Nagasaki. § 449. A coal-mine opened by British merchants at Taka Sima. § 450. Disbanded soldiery employed as agricultural labourers. § 451. French Secretary of Legation at Yedo menaced by Ronins. § 452. British officers menaced by Samourai at Nagasaki. § 453. Threatening attitude of disbanded Nagato soldiery. § 454. Discontent among the Mito retainers or Tokugawa clan. § 455. *Riots* in the rural districts on account of the heavy taxes. § 456. General improvement in the country in the environs of Yokohama. § 457. Disastrous explosion of a steamer at Yedo. § 458. Anniversary of the Mikado's accession held at Hiogo. § 459. Osaka abandoned by the foreign merchants. § 460. Visit of Sir Harry Parkes to the territory of Kii or Koshiu. § 461. Hot springs at Simabara, near Nagasaki, open to foreigners.

§ 442. *The Government and Legislature begin their task of reform.*—Having subdued the feudal oligarchy who had virtually ruled the realm for six centuries, and entered into pacific relations with the formidable Western Powers who had invaded parts of the country, the Government and Legislature of the reinstated sovereign *de facto* of Japan entered vigorously into reforming the constitution, so as to enrol it among the most civilized nations according to the progressive policy of the age. In accomplishing this task so far, these statesmen have made such rapid strides and radical changes, both in their domestic and foreign policy, that Japan stands forth in the front rank of civilization, the political marvel of modern times. Only four years have elapsed since the first Administration and Legislature got into harness, and measures have been passed that have thoroughly regenerated the political, social, and religious institutions which had existed from time immemorial. But the

annals of this period lack the thrilling interest of the previous sixteen years which have been faithfully and impartially chronicled in these pages. Nevertheless, to all who study the mysterious development of human progress, they are replete with instruction. If we refer to books and dispatches written by astute diplomatists and foreign residents in Japan only ten years ago, we find that they wrote despairingly of such a people and their rulers ever assimilating with the peoples and governments of Europe and America, and many advocated the policy of abandoning the land of such a sanguinary race, and leaving those fertile islands to a perpetual isolation. What has been the result? A few short years and we have seen the most enlightened Embassy from the Mikado to the Treaty Powers presenting their credentials to the Courts of Europe, and traversing the length and breadth of the western hemisphere in European clothing, and adapting themselves courteously to the habits and customs of each country. After this, he must be a bold prophet who predicts the future destiny of nations by the experience of the past.

§ 443. *Constitution and rules of the new Japanese legislature.*—A brief sketch has been given of the constitution of the Mikado's new Government, and we purpose now to give a general outline of the legislature. The information is gathered from a translation of the "Laws of the Assembly," published in the 'Kioto Government Gazette,' the organ of the Ministry. Those who drew up these laws cannot be complimented for their perspicuity, for the rules are not very clear, and there are important omissions. For example, the first rule states: "The periods for which members of parliament will serve is limited to four years. Half the members will be re-elected every two years. Retiring members may be immediately re-elected. New members will enjoy the same privileges as, and rank with, old members. When the time arrives for the first re-election, half the members will retire by lot." Yet, with all this, we are not informed as to the mode of election, or the qualification of members. Of course these bye-laws may be in some other State paper. It may be inferred, however, that only those who ranked as nobles at the Mikado's Court, or that of the late Siogoon, were eligible, from whom the members were self-elected, something like the election of Scottish Peers to the House of Lords. Though emulating that hereditary assembly,

yet there is a spice of republicanism in its constitution, for members of the Government are not eligible while they hold office. There are in all thirty-three rules for the guidance of members, but many of these have been since modified, or struck out, and others substituted, therefore it is not necessary to allude to them in detail. Suffice it to state that, "should any member be appointed to another office, or retire, a substitute will immediately be elected." "Any member having a motion to propose will hand in the same in writing to the President." "Statements of motions must be brief and plain. They must have foundation and substance." "Six days in every month, the 2nd, 7th, 12th, 17th, 22nd, and 27th, are fixed for days of assembly." "The order in which members will read out their opinions, or address questions, will be according to the number of their places." It will be seen that no oral discussion was to be allowed; all motions and opinions were to be handed in writing to the President, but they were allowed to carry the former home, and, after mature reflection, read out the latter at next meeting. The President having collected the whole opinions of the members at the third sitting, signified by "aye" and "no" being marked on the papers, should three-fifths or more be in favour of the motion, he would declare it carried, but subject to the Mikado's assent before the measure became law. "Should any question before Parliament have to be referred to the officers of the Government, the debate will be postponed until the next meeting, when the officers of the Government will be invited to attend." "Should any member be prevented from attending, he may delegate a proxy," but only one allowed to each member. "Newspapers and street reports are not to be quoted to substantiate statements;" an evident censorship upon the native press.

§ 444. *Division of the Japanese Parliament into committees.*—While these rules were under consideration of members, the President and his six colleagues, entitled *Kanji*, who were elected monthly from amongst the members, saw the necessity of dividing the legislators into committees to deliberate upon the vital questions under consideration of the House. The number of committee men for each question was not fixed, but the President expected that every member would devote his time to one or other, while they should be distributed equally, as shown in the following notification: "Although it is assuredly the office

of all the members of Parliament to discuss the laws which are to be promulgated to the people, still as there are a number of questions to be considered, which it would be a pity not to treat minutely as a temporary measure, the framing of the laws will be entrusted to the various members divided into committees, according to the annexed scheme, each member taking up the subject which he feels himself specially qualified to deal with. Every member will choose one of these subjects, to the thorough discussion of which he will diligently apply himself. But, although the subjects are thus fixed, there will be no impediment offered to the members of any committee who may have an opinion to offer upon matters outside the province of that committee. Should there be any member who does not feel specially qualified to discuss any one of the subjects, he will not be compelled against his will to enter any of the committees. As the subjects to be discussed are all of vital importance, it is requisite that the debates should be exhaustive, and with this view it is desirable that the members of Parliament should be distributed among the several committees as equally as possible:—Committees, 1st, Agriculture; 2nd, Taxes and Duties; 3rd, Roads and Communications; 4th, Finance; 5th, Foreign Relations; 6th, Foreign Trade; 7th, Mines; 8th, Weights and Measures; 9th, Internal Commerce; 10th, Redeeming Waste Land; 11th, Public Instruction, Publication of Books (Supervision of the Press); 12th, Criminal Laws; 13th, Laws to be observed in War; 14th, Military Tribute (Levies of Soldiers, Money, &c.); 15th, Navy; 16th, Army; 17th, Works and Repairs." These documents were signed by the President of the Council, Akidzuki *no-kami*, who although only a Fudai daimio, or noble of the inferior class, was chosen for his abilities as an impartial statesman to fill the post. His onerous duties were relieved by the assistance of the six *Kanji*, who communicated the deliberations of the committees to the Minister in whose department the subject legislated upon applied. If he and the committee were in accord, the measure received the sanction of the Mikado by advice of his Cabinet, and the Act of Parliament came into operation.

§ 445. *Prospects of the vexed currency question being adjusted.* Among the most important subjects demanding the careful deliberation of the Finance Committee was the vexed currency question—grievous alike to natives and foreigners, who began

to despair of any reform. To the satisfaction of every one, the first communication of this year from the Japanese Government to the Foreign Ministers was an official announcement that it was their intention to withdraw the old currency entirely; and for the *boos, itziboos, neeboos, cobangs, tempos,* and other gold, silver, and copper coins, were to be substituted dollars and cents, upon the basis of the American currency. It was not intended to do this suddenly, for they had not the means, but the Government anticipated that as the old coins were absorbed in the payment of taxes, dues, and customs' duties, they would issue a Japan dollar, and its subsidiary parts, in competition with the Mexican dollar. For this purpose, designs for dies were sent to England, and a proper staff of skilled coiners procured, to work the new mint they had already purchased from the Government of Hong Kong. This mint was made in London under the able superintendence of Captain Kinder, an engineer of repute, known to the authorities at the Tower Hill Mint. It was ordered by the Colonial Government to try the experiment of coining Chinese *sycee* silver into dollars and their parts, with the British impress on the coins, in order to supersede the Mexican dollar. After two years' operation, under its efficient designer and staff, it failed to pay its working expenses, and it was in the market for sale. The Japanese Government at once saw the advantage of having such superior machinery to that of their Dutch-designed mint, and purchased it at a fair price, but for much less than if it had been ordered. As these annals proceed it will be seen how successful this mint has been, and not only in a pecuniary sense, for the Japanese metallic currency will compare favourably with any in Europe or America.

§ 446. *Negotiations for constructing a railway between Yedo and Yokohama.*—Though last in the lists of committees, the one on Public Works was among the most diligent. It is only just to the defunct Siogoon's Government to give them credit for initiating the construction of lighthouses and other maritime works which their successors have since carried out. But now came the question of constructing a railway; electric telegraphs having been already introduced, and short lines in operation. The subject was vigorously discussed by the committee, aided by drawings, plans, and estimates from foreign civil engineers, and they made a favourable report to the Government. The advantage of this mode of transit for passengers and goods was

patent to the Ministry, but they had no money to spare on such costly works. At this juncture Mr. H. N. Lay, C.B., appeared, and offered to find the necessary means, if they would give him a concession to construct the first line. This gentleman was formerly Inspector-General of the Imperial Foreign Maritime Customs in China, and on retiring from that post he directed his attention to financial matters in Japan. Backed by some London speculative capitalists, he arrived at Yokohama from China—where he had no encouragement from the native authorities—and offered to obtain the loan of a million sterling in the London money market, if the Government made him their agent, empowered him to engage engineers and purchase railway plant, and granted other privileges to the party he represented to construct railways. He proposed to lay down a line from Yedo to Kioto, roughly computed at three hundred miles, through a mountainous country, thereby to unite the eastern and western capitals. As the first section of the line would be from Yedo to Yokohama, or rather Kanagawa, the distance being only eighteen miles, it would test the capabilities of the traffic to pay interest on the outlay, before undertaking its extension. The project was considered favourably by the Government; but there appeared to be an obstacle in the way. The Government of the Siogoon had made an engagement with the American trading diplomatists, which their successors wished to carry out in good faith, granting them preference in railway matters, should any foreign company be allowed to construct a railway in Japan for its own profit and on its own account. Arrangements were, therefore, concluded that the Government itself should be the proprietor of the railway, and all future lines would necessarily belong to it. How the financial and construction agency got into difficulties will be shown in the sequel. Nevertheless, sufficient money was raised to lay down eighteen miles of the line, with ample rolling stock, and it is now in full operation, bringing in a profitable revenue. On the 7th of January the telegraph from the settlement to the city was completed, and the first messages were exchanged. Since then the wire has extended its ramifications throughout the interior for many hundreds of miles, and these are united to the submarine cables, so that Yedo is *en rapport* with London.

§ 447. *An English inspector of mines appointed by Govern-*

ment.—Rich mines of metalliferous and other minerals have been worked from time immemorial in Japan, including gold, silver, copper, and iron. The excellence of their products was exemplified to foreigners in the pure ductile gold of the *cobang*, the bright silver of the *itziboo*, the rich metal of the copper *tempo*, and the hard steel of the murderous double-handed swords. Excepting the last named, the cupidity of the first residents was greatly excited by these evident resources of undeveloped mines in Japan. Many applications were made from time to time for concessions to work these by companies on foreign principles, but no applicant had been successful, though some of the daimios engaged practical miners to assist the natives in working them on their own account. Now, that there was a Mines Committee in the legislature, the subject was thoroughly inquired into how these could be further developed so as to improve the revenue of the State. As usual, the members were aided by foreign information on the subject, some of practical utility, and some from speculators wanting concessions. When they sent in their report to the President, who handed it to the Minister in whose department it was, he resolved on appointing a competent foreigner to the post of Mining Engineer, whose duty it would be to investigate and report. This important post was conferred upon Mr. Erasmus Gower, an Englishman well qualified to fill it.

§ 418. *Native worked coal-mines on the Island of Taka Sima, near Nagasaki.*—Meanwhile the attention of British diplomatists and merchants was directed to the all-important subject of coal-mines in Japan. On inquiry it was ascertained that indications existed, in numerous localities of these islands, that coal-measures of excellent quality extended over a large area, in all probability approximating to those of the British Islands. It was also found that these mines were only surface worked, like those of China; from whence the Japanese obtained the doctrine that agriculture was before mining, and that food and clothing was essential to mankind, while metals and stones were only of secondary consideration. The only coal-mine of any extent worked by the Japanese was on the Island of Taka Sima, situated about five miles from the entrance to Nagasaki Harbour; exceedingly picturesque in itself, rising abruptly from the sea to the south, and sloping gradually towards the north, in several broken valleys, hemmed in with hills of contorted rocks. The

seams of coal crop out at the southern bluff, and dip at a gentle gradient northward. For years the Japanese had been working from the former extremity, driving tortuous and uneven galleries through the hill. In their rude workings they had penetrated to a considerable distance, and, in spite of the obstacles, extracted a yield that gave the miners and proprietors good returns; chiefly from its sale to foreigners in China, where British coal was dear and scarce. The influx of water was the greatest difficulty they had to contend with, and, during three months of the year, their rude system of water-wheels could scarcely keep the lower parts of the mine clear. The labour, also, from the extreme workings to carry the coals to the "pit's mouth," was so excessive, that it added largely to the cost of production. Notwithstanding the high price of coal for export, the margin of profit was small to the native coal-owners.

§ 449. *A coal-mine opened by British merchants at Taka Sima.*—Seeing this imperfect development of rich coal-measures, the mercantile firm of Glover and Company at Nagasaki, secured a concession from the local authority to work the seams on European principles, which was tardily granted by the Governor, who was not in favour of opening up mines to foreigners. However, once the permission was secured, Mr. T. B. Glover set vigorously to work, and opened up a new pit through the lowest part of the carboniferous strata. Instead of driving into the seam at its southern outcrop, where the Japanese were at work, he sunk a shaft at its northern extremity to a depth of about a hundred and fifty feet below the surface, where he struck an eight-feet seam, being the upper stratum of the series. Beneath that it was ascertained that a lower seam of ten feet existed, so that the prospects of coal industry in this part of Japan were good. In order to judge of their capabilities, as affecting the supply of fuel to H.M.'s steamships of war in the Far East, Sir Harry Parkes paid a visit to these mines in the course of the year, and reported favourably upon them. After being worked for several years under European "viewers," they have not turned out so successfully as was anticipated. However, there can be no doubt that the coal-measures in Japan will in time be the most remunerative product of these islands; especially in conjunction with the iron ores, so plentifully distributed; which will, in its mineral aspect, make it the Great Britain of the East.

§ 450. *Disbanded soldiery employed as agricultural labourers.*—Agriculture stands first on the committee list, and it was, and has been, the foremost subject, not only in Japan, but its foster-mother China, from time immemorial. The agricultural committee of the legislature, therefore, had their hands full in providing for the wants of the rural peasantry. In that respect the Government had little difficulty, for a more peaceful, loyal, and obedient class of subjects no European monarch possesses above the Mikado. But there was a necessity to provide for a considerable pauper population, who were a burden upon the State, to occupy the waste agricultural lands, so as to produce an equivalent for their maintenance. The rights of the farmer were scrupulously upheld, but the able-bodied labourer was compelled to work upon the comparatively barren land to render it fertile. The maintenance of these pauper farm-labourers was advanced by the Government, and was to be repaid by the peasant proprietors, when the labour of the paupers consigned to them became remunerative. This plan was adopted chiefly for the purpose of providing for the numerous disbanded soldiery and armed retainers after the civil war was ended. Besides these dangerous classes being thus provided for in the provincial agricultural districts, the Government found employment for a large number of them in the environs of Yedo, upon a royal chase, which was disforested and brought under tillage by some five thousand labourers. Others who had means at command were encouraged to emigrate, some of them proceeding to Hawaii in the Sandwich Islands. So careful were the Government of them, that, should they not be successful, passages back to their homes would be paid for them. It so happened that about forty of the emigrants returned without claiming passage money. They stated that they had been successful, and the Honolulu Government had protected them, whereupon a treaty was concluded between the two Powers, similar to the European and American treaties.

§ 451. *French Secretary of Legation menaced by Ronins at Yedo.*—Notwithstanding these measures to control an important class in the regeneration of the community there still existed bands of the *Samourai* and *Ronin* classes, whom the Government found it difficult to suppress or employ. These men had a hatred of labour, and preferred being outcasts or banditti, assassinating foreigners or robbing the industrious inhabitants. As

in previous years, these two-sworded men looked upon foreigners as the cause of all their troubles and degradation. Yedo was their chief rendezvous, and as by this time the British, French, American, and Dutch Legations were located within its precincts, members of embassies were liable to the old dangers and insults from these malcontents. On one occasion M. du Bosquet, Secretary to the French Legation, went out for a walk, attended by a Japanese guard, and was threatened by three *Samourai*, who began to unsheath their murderous swords. His guard immediately decamped, whereupon he drew his revolver and stood upon his defence. Seeing his bold attitude, the cowardly menacers slunk off quite abashed. Not only was this return to the old sanguinary threatening days visible at Yedo, but at the treaty port of Nagasaki, as will be seen by the following statement:—

§ 452. *British officers menaced by Samourai at Nagasaki.*—"A few nights since Lieut. Gough, commanding Her Majesty's gun-boat 'Grasshopper,' and an officer from Her Majesty's corvette 'Zebra,' while passing through the native town, accidentally pushed against a man wearing two swords, and, thinking nothing of the circumstance, were about to proceed on their way, when one of them discovered the fellow in the act of drawing his long sword from the sheath. The two officers having no weapon of any kind, were compelled in self-defence to take it from him, and in the scuffle he was knocked down. On rising, he attempted to use his short sword, with like results. Had he killed the two officers the matter would most probably have terminated in a manner as unsatisfactory as that relating to the two seamen of the 'Icarus,' who were cut down in an altercation with some armed Japanese sailors. In this instance the delinquent having got the worst of the encounter, soon found the official residence of the British Consul, and got the native authorities to lodge a complaint with that gentleman." * On investigation the matter was fully explained to the Governor, and he rebuked the complainant. Shortly after this, two Dutch residents were jostled and threatened by a couple of these double-sworded ruffians in the native city. One of them on reaching De-sima found that they had followed him, when a scuffle took place, but happily without any serious results. However, it was evident that the dangerous classes were on the

* Correspondent of 'London and China Telegraph.'

look-out to attack foreigners, so that they prudently did not venture far from the settlements, and always went abroad armed, especially after nightfall. The prevailing impression at this time was that the anti-foreign party, though much less powerful than formerly, was by no means extinct, and hoped still to achieve its cherished object, namely, the expulsion or extermination of foreigners, by involving them in new troubles with the Government. This party not only hated the presence of foreigners, but hated the rulers of the country for permitting their presence, and hence it would have suited their ends if they could have brought them into collision. Fortunately, with their extended knowledge of affairs in Japan, the Foreign Ministers no longer supposed that these outrages were instigated by the Government, therefore the cordiality which subsisted between them was in no way disturbed, while the authorities voluntarily took vigorous measures to suppress the first appearance of lawlessness in the vicinity of the treaty ports.

§ 453. *Threatening attitude of disbanded Nagato soldiery.*— Not only were these disbanded soldiery and armed retainers troublesome to foreigners at the treaty ports, but they were an element of danger among the discontented followers of the great ex-daimios, who had given up their feudal rights to the consolidated Government. Among the first to murmur at the "piping times of peace" were the courageous adherents of the Nagato family, who found that their military supremacy was now cast into the shade by the main body of their force being drafted into the national army. The malcontents rebelled at the new order of things, especially the officers, who were not successful in obtaining commissions equivalent to those they held in the clan corps. It was reported that a number of them, including a large body of soldiery, rose in rebellion, in order to force Chosiu and his son Nagato to restore them to their former position. So threatening was the attitude of these men, that it is said they applied to Satsuma and his father Shimadzoo Saburo for assistance in the event of an outbreak. These overtures were, however, declined on the plea that there were similar symptoms of discontent among the disbanded soldiery of the Satsuma clan who had not been enrolled in the national army. Under these circumstances, the local civil authorities administering the government in Nagato province, or what we would denominate county, yielded to the demands of the

military Samourai, who were reinstated in their former position and pay, but only temporarily until the matter could be permanently adjusted by the central Government.

§ 454. *Discontent among the Mito retainers or Tokugawa clan.*—While the transition state of affairs in the south assumed this threatening aspect, similar demonstrations of discontent appeared in the north, especially in Fitatsi, the former feudal domain of the Mito family, of which the ex-Siogoon Yoshi Hisa was a member. However, he being in forced retirement, which was tantamount to political banishment, the responsibility of being head of this once powerful house had devolved upon his younger brother Mimbu Tayoo, who, it will be remembered, visited the Paris Exhibition in 1867. He was a young man of an amiable disposition, but not able to control the turbulent followers of his clan, who were politically divided into three parties corresponding to our own distinctions of Conservatives, Liberals, and Radicals. Among them there were continual feuds, and at this unsettled period it broke out into a riot, so serious that troops had to be sent from Yedo to restore order. This was soon accomplished, for most of the Mito retainers had been previously disarmed as Tokugawa men who fought among the insurgents during the civil war.

§ 455. *Riots in the rural districts on account of heavy taxes.*—Added to these political disturbances and family feuds, there was a wide-spread discontent among the peasantry and farmers, at the heavy taxes levied upon them, and the scarcity of money to pay them, in consequence of a deficiency in the rice crops. On levying these taxes in some districts, where the collectors acted rather harshly on demanding payment, the usually patient husbandmen resisted them by force of arms, to the effusion of blood. But these riots were in no sense political. All the farmers wanted was time to pay the taxes until they had garnered the next crop. This was granted to them, so the foreigner traders imported rice largely from the French colony of Saigon in Cochin-China, to supplement the deficient harvest. In this essential article of food upwards of fifty thousand tons, costing about half a million sterling, was purchased, but for which there would have been a disastrous famine in the land; and the Japanese had sufficient intelligence to see that this arose through the benefits of foreign trade.

§ 456. *General improvement in the country around Yokohama.*

—Notwithstanding these occasional outbreaks among the rural population, the country in the neighbourhood of Yedo and Yokohama was quiet, and the Government were zealously endeavouring to conciliate all parties, and uphold law and order under the new *régime*. Great efforts were being made to improve the silk cultivation, and the introduction of foreign crops of grain, to supplement the rice crops. Beet-root for the produce of sugar had already been introduced, and promised to be in time an important industry; while attention was paid to growing roots for cattle-food, and generally to improving the breeds of all domestic animals. In the vicinity of the settlement public gardens for the recreation of the residents were laid out in a tasteful manner on the grounds of the Mandarin Bluff lower down the bay. All the swamp beyond the canal at the back of the settlement was rapidly filled up, and divided into lots for the residences of natives trading with foreigners. Both classes of the community were increasing fast, and Yokohama was becoming a goodly-sized town. There was also an increasing traffic for passengers and goods between the port and the capital along the *Tokaido*. From fifty to a hundred vehicles of various descriptions plied daily along this great highway, which was kept in excellent repair by the Japanese authorities. An iron bridge was built across one of the streams intersected by the road, where toll was collected to pay for its erection. The vehicles were generally filled with passengers, one of them being a four-horse coach, driven by Americans, which gave a lively aspect to the general traffic. But the railway engineers had finished the survey of the line, and by the close of the year considerable progress had been made by native labourers under English superintendents in preparing the embankments for laying the rails between Yedo and Yokohama, destined to supersede the traffic on the road.

§ 457. *Disastrous explosion of an American steamer at Yedo.* —Besides this land conveyance between the settlement and city, there was a considerable traffic by water, the navigable distance being about the same, namely, eighteen miles. Most of the Japanese passengers and cargo were carried in native junks, but there was a small American steamer plying on the route, named the 'City of Yedo.' This boat was well patronised both by natives and foreigners, and was considered a pecuniary success for the future as well as the past. But these prospects were

suddenly extinguished by a disastrous explosion of the engine-boiler, which demolished the vessel, killed one-half of the passengers, and scalded more or less all the others. At the time this terrible calamity happened, the steamer had just started from the anchorage at Yedo, on her return trip to Yokohama. There were thirteen foreigners on board, five of whom were killed, seven wounded, and one escaped unhurt. Of Japanese, numbering a hundred and fifty-three, including the crew, seventy-one were killed outright, or died of their wounds, sixty-four recovered, and eighteen escaped unhurt. A good deal of ill-feeling arose among the relatives and friends of the Japanese who died, and they spread a rumour that the blowing up of the steamer was a design on the part of foreigners to injure the natives. This false impression the authorities thought fit to contradict by an official notification, which had the desired effect of calming their minds. Nevertheless, no attempt was made to renew the steamboat traffic to Yedo. However, there was a line of English boats plying between Yokohama and Hiogo, that was well patronized, as the Japanese learned to know the greater safety of low-pressure engines in them, to those of high pressure in American boats. Moreover, the Government purchased two British steamers for a mail line to Hiogo and Nagasaki, besides three steam launches to ply between Nee-e-gata and the mineral Isle of Sado.

§ 458. *Anniversary of the Mikado's accession held at Hiogo.*—Notwithstanding this mishap with a small American steamer plying on inland waters, both foreigners and natives had no fear in travelling by the ocean steamships of the Pacific Mail Steam Ship Company, the success of which was beyond the most sanguine expectations. Starting originally with one steamer of two thousand five hundred tons burthen, the company quickly found profitable employment for a second and a third of larger tonnage, and in little more than a year they added one of four thousand tons. These vessels had their route from San Francisco to the newly opened port of Hiogo-Kobé, making the most profitable part of their voyages between there and Yokohama. That settlement continued throughout the second year of its existence to progress most satisfactorily, both in regard to commerce and the amicable relations subsisting between the residents and inhabitants. This was ex-

emplified on the occasion of the second anniversary of His Majesty the Mikado's accession to the throne in the month of October, 1868, he being then seventeen years of age. The Japanese man-of-war, 'Fusi Yama,' was in harbour, and fired salutes at sunrise, noon, and sunset, and a salute was also fired from the forts of Temposan. The majority of the foreign ships in port were gaily dressed with flags, several of them firing salutes at noon. In the evening the principal thoroughfares were illuminated in the usual Japanese fashion, and a continuous beating of drums testified in the loudest manner the loyalty of the inhabitants. An entertainment was given by the native authorities in celebration and honour of the occasion, to which the consular body were invited. The Vice-Governor presided, and Colonel Stewart, Her Majesty's Consul, proposed the Mikado's health, expressing the good wishes of himself and colleagues, and the foreign community generally, towards the Monarch of Japan and his Government, which was cordially responded to by the chairman in Japanese style.

§ 459. *Osaka abandoned by the foreign merchants.*—On the opening of the city of Osaka to foreign trade, great expectations were entertained of the large commerce to be transacted with the reputed wealthy merchants resident there; while the prospects were anything but encouraging to the pioneer traders of the Hiogo-Kobè settlement. A couple of years' experience, however, reversed the opinions of the residents. While the latter progressed satisfactorily, the former rapidly declined from the very limited position it had attained, until it was virtually abandoned by foreign traders. Not only was this the case, but the buildings originally erected for their accommodation, being wooden structures, they had them pulled down and re-erected at Kobè. At the close of the year, only three buildings of this kind stood on the concession, and the land-renters of the abandoned sites asked the authorities to release them from paying taxes while their allotments remained valueless to them. Under these circumstances, the grand railway project intended to unite Hiogo and Osaka was dropped; though the telegraph was completed, and pretty well patronized both by foreigners and natives.

§ 460. *Visit of Sir Harry Parkes to the territory of Kii or Koshiu.*—On the southern parts of the peninsula formed on its western shores by the Gulf of Osaka and Kii Channel, leading

to the Inland Sea, is situated the territory of Koshiu, one of the great daimios, who surrendered his feudal estates to the Mikado. Under the Siogoon's *régime* his income was estimated at half a million sterling, and he could raise a contingent of thirty thousand men. His family, named Kii, were daimios of the Sankay class, second in rank to Owari, from whom the Siogoons were chosen; and, on yielding up his lands and privileges, he was appointed Governor of the province around his domains, with a suitable income to maintain his dignity. Not having visited that picturesque part of Japan, Sir Harry Parkes intimated the fact to Koshiu, and received an invitation to visit him at the ancient family castle of Wakamaya. Accordingly he proceeded, with Lady Parkes and suite, on board H.M.S. 'Sylvia,' and arrived at the port of Wakamura about the end of November. On landing, the party found that a large temple had been prepared for their reception, and furnished throughout in European style. They were received by some high officers and a guard of honour, conducted to the temple, and the gentlemen accommodated with finely caparisoned horses, to proceed, accompanied by an escort of Lancers, to the castle two miles and a half distant. Here they met with a grand reception from their noble host in a hall of state. In the afternoon he paid a visit to Lady Parkes, and then proceeded on board the 'Sylvia.' A grand entertainment was given to the guests in the evening, when a lady of the household was present, who bore herself throughout the evening with such ladylike grace and ease as to excite the admiration of all present. During the two following days they rode into the country, and were delighted with the picturesque scenery and the fertile agricultural lands, thickly populated by an industrious peasantry. Wherever the cavalcade proceeded the people all fell on their knees while it passed. Everywhere the streets and roads were well swept and watered, and generally an air of cleanliness and prosperity prevailed.

§ 461. *Hot springs at Simabara, near Nagasaki, open to foreigners.*—Similar friendly overtures to foreigners were enacted at Nagasaki at this time. A short distance from that town are the famous mineral springs of Simabara, used by the Japanese from time immemorial as hot baths for sanitary purposes. These were exclusively frequented by the natives, but now they were voluntarily opened to foreigners, under certain

regulations. Many residents availed themselves of the privilege, and found the arrangements excellent, and the charges very moderate; a bath when engaged by any person was kept exclusively for his use during his stay. Some of them were vapour baths. Those used by foreigners were kept separate from the others, and great attention paid to their cleanliness, each being emptied and scrubbed after use. Of general progress otherwise, there was very little to record during the year at the settlement. At its close, a meeting of land-renters took place, to try to get their rents reduced; these being so high that they seriously affected house property, at a time when extreme depression of trade existed. In the course of the proceedings it was stated that from 1861 to 1870 (both years included) the sum of one hundred and forty-seven thousand dollars had been paid to the Japanese for the rent of the bare ground only. It was proposed that the rate should be reduced one-half.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1871.

FEUDAL TERRITORIES CHANGED INTO IMPERIAL DOMAINS — DAIMIOS MADE GOVERNORS — RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GOVERNMENT, CIVIL SERVICE, AND ARMY — MINT OPENED.

§ 462. Transference of the feudal lands to the sovereign power. § 463. Improved status of the Mikado's officers at the Court of Yedo. § 464. Daimios appointed governors of their former domains. § 465. Governors summoned to a great council at Yedo. § 466. Influx of Satsuma, Tosa, and Kanga troops into Yedo. § 467. Reconstruction of the Mikado's first Government. § 468. Mikado's edict *abolishing* feudal tenures read in council. § 469. Murmurs of the petty clans at the extinction of their power. § 470. Reconstruction of the army; clad in European uniforms. § 471. Proposal to combine all war-ships into a navy not entertained. § 472. Scale of salaries paid in the civil service departments. § 473. Statistics of foreigners in Government employ this year. § 474. Ceremonial on the opening of the new Imperial Mint at Osaka. § 475. Names, value, and description of the old metallic currency. § 476. Denomination, standard, and value of the new gold and silver coinage. § 477. Successful progress of the mint and issue of coinage. § 478. Ancient gold-mines of Sado being worked by machinery. § 479. Departure of the Mikado's Embassy for America and Europe. § 480. An approximate census of the population published. § 481. Sanguinary outrage on two foreign professors of Yedo College. § 482. Capture and punishment of the assassins. § 483. General decline in trade at the treaty ports during the year.

§ 462. *Transference of the feudal lands to the sovereign power.*—Among the radical reforms and changes introduced by the new Administration, not the least was that of the official nomenclature, which became very puzzling to foreigners. We have seen how Yedo was altered to *To-Kiyo*, Kioto, or Miaco, to *Sai-Kiyo*, and other topographical names. In like manner a complete change occurred in the designations of the Court and Government titles, even to that of the Mikado himself, who was more frequently addressed as the Ten-no. Following the same rule we find, at this time, that the ex-daimios were denominated "Chihanji," while the title and rank of the Siogoon was expunged from the heraldic list. The important point in the alteration of the feudatorial titles was the fact that the old

material wealth and power went along with them. It was a hard struggle for many of the proud veteran daimios to exchange their semi-independent state to that of a humble subject, shorn of all his feudal panoply of state. Nevertheless, one by one they submitted to the new order of things, until there was now not one dissentient noble who had not given in his allegiance to his legitimate sovereign and the reformed Government. Prior to the revolution the hold of the central Government on the daimios was weak, and its liability to serious disturbance very great and constant on this account. The main object, therefore, of the Administration at this transition period was to strengthen itself as much as possible by the substitution of officers directly from Yedo for those chosen by the ex-daimios. This process, however, required great discretion and tenderness, and only to be carried out when the internal condition of a district was such as to afford a fair pretext for the change. Hence the transformation proceeded slowly, but surely and discreetly; for honest and experienced officials were required to ensure its steady working, and these were rare in Japan.

§ 463. *Improved status of the Mikado's officers at the Court of Yedo.*—Among the most notable of the new officials who came to Yedo with the Mikado were the *Kugès*, or high officers of his Court, who were all of the most ancient noble descent. By their position in the royal household they wielded considerable power in the State, yet they had no estates to maintain their dignity, living upon salaries and the bounty of their sovereign within the precincts of the Court. Hence the work of transforming feudal territories into Imperial domains did not affect them, except where it indirectly exalted them above the proudest of the ci-devant daimios at the capital. Foreigners who saw some twenty of these *Kugès* for the first time in the train of the Mikado on his entry into Yedo, observed a marked distinction in features and costume between them and the daimios. Many of them were remarkably handsome men, with faces possessing much character, but in one particular differing from their rivals and military chiefs, many of whom too had striking features. They had, one and all, the sickly pallor of complexion which is the result of sedentary and luxurious life, and abstinence from movement in the open air, which darkened still more the swarthy complexion of their rougher *confrères* who lived in the provinces. In their costume they were easily

distinguishable by the addition to the shoe-shaped head-dress of a Japanese noble of a slip of stiff crape, semi-transparent, and enriched by a pattern woven in the stuff, about four inches broad and three feet long, stiffened by a wire on each side. This fastened to the top of the head and falling down over the back, like a heron's plume, distinctly marked them out from the daimios, whose rich state dresses of brocade of various colours were in many other respects similar to theirs. Of these Kugès many received high and lucrative appointments under the new *régime;* but their political faithfulness could not be depended on by the Government.

§ 464. *Daimios appointed governors of their former domains.* —As already stated, the title of "daimio" was abolished, and that of *Chihanji* substituted, thereby signifying that they were appointed governors or lieutenant-governors of the territories hitherto held in fief by them from the sovereign. In surrendering these domains they also relinquished the revenues to the State, which were handed over to the Finance Minister at Yedo, less the cost of collection, and the amount allowed to each chihanji as interest on the value of the lands he surrendered. At the first these domains were termed *han*, signifying a feudal division of the territory, a title which the new Government, in consideration of the ex-daimios' feelings, did not care to disturb. Hence the former retainers and peasantry looked upon the change as more of a nominal than real surrender of their chief and his family's ancient rights. While the eighteen nobles of the first rank loyally carried out the intentions of the Government, both in letter and spirit, a larger number of inferior nobility were careless in performing their new duties, and clung to the old feudal forms, though ostensibly acting as deputy-governors.

§ 465. *Governors summoned to a great council at Yedo.*—This unsatisfactory working of the new system called for further reform, and the Ministry discussed the question of summoning all the governors and lieutenant-governors to a grand council at Yedo. Although not altogether unanimous, there was a sufficient majority of progressionists in the Cabinet to advise the Mikado to issue an edict of this purport, which was congenial to the mind of the young monarch himself. At one time it was rumoured that in future the Chihanji were to be called upon to reside at the capital for three months in four

relays, so that in three years every one would be domiciled within the precincts of the Court at Yedo. The object of this was not, as under the Siogoons, to impoverish the nobles by the enforced removal of themselves and families, but to educate them as it were in the policy and principles of the Mikado's Government. The leading nobles of the legislative council being consulted on this question, discountenanced the proposition, as savouring too much of the obnoxious law of the Siogoons, requiring an enforced residence of six months at Yedo, therefore the proposed measure was abandoned.

§ 466. *Influx of Satsuma, Tosa, and Kanga troops into Yedo.*—Among the first of the governors to respond to the summons was Satsuma, and his father, Shimadzoo Saburo, who still represented his clan upon all great occasions. Not only did they appear in state, but they were accompanied by two battalions of disciplined infantry, each eight hundred strong, and armed with Enfield rifles. They came in this armed fashion, not to thwart, but for the avowed purpose of supporting the Government by force of arms if need be. In return the Mikado, on the advice of his Ministry, cheerfully recognized the loyalty of the Satsuma chiefs. A battalion of infantry from the Kanga clan followed these troops, and they were reinforced by a number of Tosa infantry, with a troop of a hundred well-mounted cavalry. These and other contingents of loyal troops added to the garrison of Yedo more than filled the available barracks, which were now of comparatively limited extent after being dismantled during the revolution.

§ 467. *Reconstruction of the Mikado's first Government.*—While the Chihanji were proceeding to To-kiyo from the more distant parts of the realm, which necessarily occupied several months, the leaders of the Administration deemed it advisable to make some changes among its members, with a view to the Cabinet being unanimous in their policy. On being reconstituted there were no important changes, as the leading Ministers retained office or, after dismissal, were re-appointed. Sanjo continued in his post as Prime Minister, and undertook the duties of the Minister of Religion, vacated by Nakayama. The calm judgment and firm but placid manner of this statesman gave him great influence in the National Councils, although a young man comparatively to his more venerable colleagues. Saigo Kichinosuke was re-appointed Councillor of

State, having special control over the War Department. This noble belonged to the Tosa clan; and, his reputation as a general qualifying him for the post, he was acceptable to the military section of the nation, especially at an important juncture, when it was announced that a national army should immediately be enrolled upon a European model. Kido, of the Nagato clan, retained his place, nor could his presence from the Board of Councillors be dispensed with. Perhaps no statesman in Japan had shown more foresight, determination and knowledge of the necessities of the State than he did. Okubo, of the clan Satsuma, was re-appointed a Councillor charged with the important Department of Finance, assisted by Okuma as Vice-Minister; both of them were capable men, but the first was not experienced enough in financial affairs. Sawa resigned his post as Minister for Foreign Affairs, and was succeeded by Iwakura, of whom there is much to record in these annals, as the first Ambassador from the Mikádo to Foreign Treaty Powers. At the time, this appointment gave great satisfaction to the representatives of these Powers at Yedo. Not, indeed, that his predecessor was in any way adverse to foreigners; but it was doubted whether he was able to cope with the difficulties with which the external relations of the empire brought him face to face. Iwakura, on the other hand, while fully understanding the problems presented by the internal condition of the realm, had more definite views of the exigencies presented by its foreign relations. He had been the Mikado's right-hand man since his accession to the executive power, and had largely moulded the new condition of the country and the policy of its rulers. Last, but not least in importance, Goto Shojiro was created President of the *Kobusho*, or Board of Works. His name was well known to foreigners, as he it was who rode by the side of Sir Harry Parkes at the time when the attempt was made on the British Minister's life at Kioto, in March, 1868, and who cut down one of the assassins—a service which the British Government recognized, by presenting him with a sword, as a mark of gratitude and respect for his chivalrous conduct on the occasion.*

§ 468. *Mikado's edict abolishing feudal tenures read in council.*—Summer passed over, and autumn was well advanced before the

* 'Japan Mail.'

Grand Council of Chihanji had fully assembled at Yedo, and the Government had matured its policy respecting the vital measure under deliberation, for the better administration of the districts under their governorship. After many weighty consultations in the Cabinet, it was resolved to deal vigorously with the question, by abolishing the feudal tenure of land entirely, and restoring the ancient rights of the legitimate sovereign, as sole proprietor, with power to levy rates and taxes as an Imperial revenue. This policy being assented to by all the political estates of the realm, the whole of the Chihanji were summoned to the palace at Yedo, to hear the edict promulgating the new law. On the 20th of September they assembled in the audience chamber, where His Majesty the Mikado, or Ten-no, Mutsh'to, sat in state, surrounded by his Ministers and great officers of his household. In the presence of this imposing and august assembly, the Prime Minister Sanjo read the following decree: "It appears to me that in the time of reformation, if it is our desire to aid and make our people happy, and to take an honourable position with respect to other nations, we should make the reality correspond to the name, to centralize the Governmental power. I previously ordered the *Han* (or feudatories) to send up reports of their affairs, and appointed the daimios to be (in future) *Chihanji* (governors), and prescribed for each his duties. Having for several hundred years been hereditary rulers, some were satisfied merely with the name, and neglected these duties. How, then, can the people be made happy, or we take an honourable stand among the nations? I deeply lament this state of things, and now abolish the *Han*, and convert them into *Ken* (or royal domains). In performing your duties, do away with all useless matters; cleave to retrenchment; put off all unnecessary expenses and abrogate all troublesome laws. Do you, my servants, carry out this my mind."

§ 469. *Murmurs of the petty clans at the extinction of their power.*—This decisive decree was received silently by the assembled throng, who bowed their heads in submission to the authority of the Mikado, the monarch of sacred descent from the *Kami*, or Gods.* As already stated, the nobles of Satsuma,

* He was also called *Ten-no*, or *Ten-shi*, signifying "Son of Heaven;" *Kwo-tei*, "the Emperor," equivalent to *Whang-ti* in China, and addressed as *Hei-ka*, "His Majesty," in all public documents.

Nagato, Tosa, Kanga, and other great peers of the realm, cordially and loyally carried out the behests of their legitimate sovereign, and were prepared to maintain his regal power over the broad lands under their charge, and render his Government a just return of the revenues. But among the ex-*feudai* daimios, who held subordinate posts under the new *régime*, there were many malcontents. Though they ostensibly approved of the edict while within the sacred precincts of the palace, yet when they returned to their old retainers who had accompanied them to Yedo, they gave vent to their feelings in "murmurs not loud, but deep." These petty daimios and their followers were exactly in the position of the Scottish Highland chieftains, when the British Government abolished the clans in the last century. They saw that their power was gone, and they could no longer carry on feuds against each other, or levy "Black Mail," upon the industrious inhabitants, while they must conform to the new reign of law and order, under the jurisdiction of officers and troops from the central Government at Yedo. The reformed position of affairs so exasperated the more turbulent of the provincial retainers at Yedo, that they showed symptoms of rebellion. This was especially the case, when the Government promptly posted over the city the decree, with a proclamation appended, stating that the clan system would be abolished with strictness and expedition. But the attempts at a rising received a *quietus* from the evident solidity of the governmental power; the calm manner in which it carried out its designs, and the potent display of a strong discipline force to back their policy.

§ 470. *Reconstruction of the army; clad in foreign uniforms.*—At this time the garrison of Yedo presented a favourable opportunity for consolidating all the forces in Japan, and reconstructing the Imperial army. It was not intended to *mobilize* all the provincial troops, but to form regiments out of the old bands of retainers, and render them amenable for their discipline to the generals appointed by the War Minister. Neither was it intended that they should be equipped alike, but the Mikado's troops were to be clothed in a uniform distinguishing them from those of the provincial corps. The average Japanese soldier is less in stature than the ordinary European private, but he looked a much larger and stronger man, in his own native dress. When, however, he was clad in foreign garments,

intended to make him appear like a Western soldier, he looked much smaller, feebler, and less to be dreaded as an antagonist than before. The first uniform adopted was a dingy, sheddy, black tunic, not made, nor apparently intended, to fit him; while the cartouche-box was strapped under the garment, instead of being neatly belted round his waist outside, and thus giving him the appearance of being hump-backed, which was rendered more ludicrous by the protuberant knees and drag of the feet from the wearing of sandals formerly. After various attempts at improving the uniform and accoutrements of the Imperial army, in order to distinguish the men from the provincial regiments, it was decided to clothe the infantry as follows:—Grey trowsers with a yellow stripe, a blue jacket, a red cap or *kepi*, black braided, wide peak, with the Mikado's crest in gold lace over the peak, and foreign leather boots, instead of native sandals, which the provincial troops continued to wear. This was a curious mixture of French military, British naval and volunteer uniforms, to a foreign eye having a motley appearance, but the clothes were of good material and fitted the men pretty fairly. While the privates and inferior officers were thus clad, the superior officers of both Imperial and provincial regiments went in for abundance of gold-lace over their tunics, caps, and trowsers. So much was this the case, that the demand for that embroidery far exceeded the supply; so that one of the army tailors ordered through a foreign mercantile firm twenty thousand yards of gold lace of different widths from the manufacturers at Belgium. At the same time the Government invited the services of German military instructors, besides sending an extensive order for a supply of needle-guns. The latter, however, were not generally adopted, and the Martini-Henry rifle has been selected for the national army weapon.

§ 471. *Proposal to combine all war-ships into a navy not entertained.*—A similar proposition was mooted to the foregoing consolidation of the land forces, regarding the organization of a national navy, comprising the whole Imperial and provincial foreign-built ships of war. This project emanated from the Chihanji of Higo, an ex-daimio of the first rank, whose territory was in the middle of the Island of Kiusiu, yielding a revenue equivalent to four hundred thousand pounds per annum. On transferring his extensive land possessions to the Mikado, he, along with Satsuma, Nagato, Tosa, Kanga, and others, who had

invested largely in foreign ships, retained all their property afloat, as well as their family movables and residences on shore. On the subject of ships and trade still in the hands of the ex-daimios he addressed a memorial to the Mikado, setting forth his views to the following purport. He expressed it as his opinion that the navy should be entirely in the hands of the Government, and all ships of war held by ex-feudatories should be delivered over to the central authority, at a fixed value, for which interest should be paid annually, as in the case of the land transfers. Moreover, he suggested that the Chihanji should at once be called upon to dispose of their interests in steamers and sailing-ships employed in commerce,—these, he said, should be purchased by wealthy and enterprising merchants, or trading companies; that all mercantile pursuits should be given up by the Japanese nobility, and left entirely in the hands of the native merchants of their several districts. He concluded by saying that, if his propositions were approved of, he was prepared to set an example by at once acting upon the doctrines he advanced. It is plain that the basis of these proposals was derived from the constitution of the British navy and status of the nobility, where no private person or association can be possessed of a ship of war, while it is considered *infra dignitas* for a peer of the realm to engage in trade. However, these proposals and suggestions were either not entertained by the Mikado's advisers, or they did not see their way to purchase the war-ships with an almost impoverished exchequer, especially when their policy was on the path of peace. At the same time the Government did not neglect the efficient maintenance of the squadron handed over by their predecessors under the Siogoon, which has not been augmented, but forms a nucleus for the future navy of Japan.

§ 472. *Scale of salaries paid in the civil service departments.*—After the army and navy, the reconstruction of the civil service demanded the attention of the Government. The officials were classified under ten different heads in the scale of pay; commencing with the Prime Minister and ending with the lowest junior clerks. Economy being the order of the day, the salaries were put at the lowest possible amount. Hitherto these had been calculated after the old feudal system of payments in kind, as has been frequently shown, by estimating a kokoo of rice at fifteen shillings sterling. Under the Siogoon and daimios

all classes of officers entitled to pay could claim the rice, and actually did so in the provinces, by which their pay was increased during times of scarcity, when they received a high price for it. Under the new *régime* the salaries of those in the civil service were paid monthly in cash instead of rice, and fixed upon the basis of the "rio," equivalent to 4*s.* 6*d.* English. There were a few perquisites and advantages enjoyed by some of the officers, which increased the remuneration they received; but it will be manifest, when it is mentioned that the Premier, who heads the list, was only paid eight hundred rios per month, and the Governor of the Kanagawa domain but two hundred and fifty, about 56*l.* 5*s.* English, that the pay to officials in this service was calculated upon a much lower basis than obtains in Europe—too little, indeed, to support the dignity and importance of the higher class of officials. It was considered by some foreigners, who had good opportunities of knowing, that the offices were overcrowded for the work done, which could easily have been performed by half the number in them, and if the best officers were retained and received the pay of the others discharged, it would offer a sufficient inducement to the most competent men of the country to engage in the civil service, which had not hitherto been the case.

§ 473. *Statistics of foreigners in Government employ this year.*—In contrast to this parsimony in remunerating native Government *employés*, the handsome pay received by some of the foreigners in the various services may be cited. With an openness for which they deserve credit, the heads of the Foreign Office, or *Guaimusho*, issued two small handbooks printed in the *Katagana* character, stating the number of foreigners in the employ of the Government, their residences and occupations, the time for which they were engaged, and the person or authorities with whom their contracts were made, together with, in many cases, the amount of their salaries. From these returns we find that in the public works, educational, and other departments, there were 214 foreigners in direct employ of the central Government, receiving salaries ranging from equivalents of 3500*l.* to 100*l.* per annum. This shows that many of these gentlemen received more pay for their services than the highest officers of the State. Of course, in saying so, the remark does not apply to the incomes from other sources. The nationality of the *employés* referred to was

as follows:—British, 119; French, 50; American, 16; Dutch, 2; Prussian, 8; Chinese, 9; Indian, 2; Danish, 1; Italian, 1; Manillamen, 4; Portuguese, 1; Paraguayan, 1. Besides these the provincial local authorities employed 164 foreigners, of whom 50 were British, 19 French, 25 American, 9 Prussian, 15 Dutch, 3 Manilla, 42 Chinese, and 3 Arabs. It would appear from this record that towards the end of summer there were 378 foreigners in the public service, of whom about 100 were living in the interior as surgeons, engineers, teachers, and other civil employments. But the influx increased rapidly after this census was taken, the Government agents abroad continuously engaging men with a view to put the army and navy of the country under foreign superintendence. Twenty-three French military instructors, ten British naval officers, and a number of Americans, to fill various capacities, arrived. Further, twelve beer-brewers came from Bavaria, and a number of shoemakers (country not stated) to teach the natives the old craft of bootmaking. Amongst the initiative movements of the day may be noted the establishment of a shoe brigade at Yedo, composed of street boys and men destitute of other employment.

§ 474. *Ceremonial on the opening of the new Imperial Mint at Osaka.*—The most important public work constructed under foreign superintendence since the opening of Japan was inaugurated this year, namely, the new Imperial Mint at Osaka. The machinery for this mint was made in London under the supervision of Mr. T. W. Kinder, a skilful engineer, who on its completion took it out to Hong Kong and erected it there at the cost of the Colonial Government, who thought of coining a British dollar to supplant the Mexican coin. After an experiment of some two years it turned out a losing concern, and it was offered for sale to the Chinese authorities, who declined to purchase. Negotiations were then entered into with the Japanese Government, which ultimately ended in their buying the whole plant, and engaging the English master of the mint with his assistants to proceed with it to Japan, superintend its erection at the city of Osaka, and bring it into full working operation. After eighteen months of unremitting attention, and no small amount of labour, the mint was completed and opened on the 4th of April this year. On this important occasion there were present at the ceremony of inauguration on the

part of the Government two high Ministers of State, two Vice-Ministers, and six other officials; while the Foreign Treaty Powers were represented by Sir Harry Parkes, and the French, American, and Spanish Ministers, together with the Consuls, their officers and the junior members of the legations. At the entrance to the building the party formed into a group, while the Government interpreter read the following address:—"The Japanese Government, in order to meet the gradual increase of modern requirements, and desiring to further the development of foreign commerce, undertook the year before last the construction of a mint, with the purpose of putting forth a new and pure coinage, in conformity with the system of coinage existing in other countries. The work in question has now been completed, owing to the zealous co-operation of the Oriental Banking Corporation, and of Messrs. Kinder and Waters. It is a great satisfaction to the Japanese Government that the ceremony of its opening has been celebrated in the presence of the foreign representatives and other gentlemen. It is a proof that the development of commerce will be assisted in the future, and we hope that the friendly feelings existing between our people and those of foreign countries will continue ever to increase." The plain unvarnished language of this brief address was not the least significant evidence of progress in Japan, wherein the usual style of Eastern hyperbole was discarded. Sir Harry Parkes, who acted as spokesman for the Foreign Ministers, said in reply, "We trust this success will encourage your Excellencies' Government to persevere steadily in that course of progress, and in that desire to work in cordial and common accord with Foreign Powers, which we cannot doubt you have adopted when we observe the attention your Government is devoting to public works of the most useful and practical kind, and in which the assistance of foreign skill is largely and willingly engaged. May we not see in the purity and excellent workmanship of this coin (holding up a large gold piece just struck off) the product of one of those works, a symbol of that honesty of resolve and thoroughness of action which we trust will ever characterize the Government of the Sovereign of this realm! May we not hope that, in obtaining a wide circulation, not only in Japan, but it may be in the neighbouring countries also, this country will ever carry with it the confident assurance that the Mikado's emblems, the use of which is now revived,

are an undoubted guarantee of intrinsic worth, and that the policy of His Majesty's Government may ever be distinguished by the ring of the true metal as that which is so sterling a recommendation of the new coin."

§ 475. *Names, value, and description of the old metallic currency.*—In order to understand the radical change in the value and denomination of the metallic currency issued by the new Imperial mint it is necessary to describe the coins struck by the old mint of the Siogoons. Of these there were gold, 1st, the *co-bang*, a large piece of the purest metal without alloy, measuring two inches and a half by 1¼ inch, having a superficies equal to that of three British sovereigns, only it was oval instead of round, and so thin and ductile that it could easily be bent by the fingers, while its intrinsic value was about 1*l.* 2*s.*; on the obverse side were impressed the crest of the Mikado in the centre, and that of the Siogoon at the ends, with its denomination and value in Japanese and Chinese characters between, and on the reverse the Mikado's crest repeated in the centre, with three or four separate mint stamps testifying to its weight and purity; 2nd, the *ne-boo*, an oblong square coin, about $\frac{7}{10}$ths of an inch, by $\frac{4}{10}$ths superficies, of inferior standard to the *co-bang*, having an intrinsic value of 3*s.* 4*d.*; on its obverse were two impressions of the Siogoon's scroll crest, and its name and value in Japanese. 3rd, the *ne-choo*, the smallest gold coin, one-fourth the size, shape, and value of the *ne-boo*, besides which there was a large piece of the same name and value, but it was only silver-gilt. It was said that many of the daimios had in their coffers gold pieces called *o-bang*, of much larger dimensions than the *co-bang*, and worth about 10*l.*; but these were rarely to be seen, as they seldom left the nobles' treasuries. Indeed, the people generally did not often handle gold coins or even the silver pieces, as they were mostly hoarded up by the Government and daimios, and only used by them for the payment of salaries and the wages of *employés*; but as service and labour were chiefly paid in kind—rice and other kinds of bread stuffs—a very small amount even then was in circulation before the advent of foreigners. Of the silver coinage at that time, which was the cause of so much rancour and contention between them and the Japanese, there were two: 1st, the *itziboo*, of an oblong square form, 1 inch by $\frac{6}{10}$ths superficies, thicker than an English shilling of the same standard, and intrinsically worth 1*s.* 6*d.*;

on its obverse the margin was surrounded with twenty small impressions of the Mikado's chrysanthemum crest, with a band enclosing Chinese characters only, stating the titles of the Siogoon, and on the reverse its denomination and value in Chinese characters also. 2nd, the *e-choo*, or quarter *itzi-boo*, was of the same shape and standard, in proportionate dimensions and value as that coin, with the same obverse and reverse impress. Of the copper coinage there were four pieces in circulation: 1st, the *tempo*, a large handsome coin of the purest copper, of an oval shape, measuring 2 inches by 1¼, as thick as a penny piece, but with a smooth rim making the edge half as thick again, with a square hole in the centre, and a raised rim also; on its obverse was the Mikado's crest and his title in Chinese, and on the reverse the denomination and value of the coin, which in English money was equivalent to 1½*d.* 2nd, the *reen*, a circular copper coin of inferior quality to the *tempo*, largely alloyed with tin or zinc, and of the value of about the tenth of 1*d.*, having a square hole in the centre, through which a string was run to every 1000, and these divided by knots into hundreds, for the convenience of counting and carrying, a system copied from the Chinese; the obverse having characters exactly the same, denominating its mintage and value, and the reverse having ten segments of a circle. 2nd, the *mo-oo*, also circular, $\frac{9}{10}$ths of an inch in diameter, being the half *reen*, similar in appearance, except that the reverse was plain, and valued at twenty to an English penny. Besides these copper coins of small value, there was the *hots*, an iron coin of similar dimensions and appearance to the *mo-oo*, of which 1700 ran to the silver *itzi-boo*, or about 100 to 1*d.* This coin constituted the great mass of the metallic currency in circulation among the people, who, from their economical habits and expenditure, found it useful in purchasing very small portions of commodities. As in China, these three last mentioned coins were called "cash" by foreigners, but it is obvious this was simply the English word for ready money, to distinguish it from credit or barter, which British traders introduced into the Far East at their earliest transactions.

§ 476. *Denomination, standard, and value of the new gold and silver coinage.*—From this description of the old complex system of Japanese metallic currency, it will be seen that the Government had a formidable task in hand, to withdraw the

old coins and issue the new. In accomplishing this, they had zealous foreign employés in the Master of the Mint and his assistants to carry out their scheme. The basis on which the coinage was struck followed that of the American dollar and cent currency, but differing somewhat in detail, though the decimal system of value and denomination was the same in the silver coinage. This was the branch of currency first put in operation. The dollar was denominated a *yen*, and formed the unit from which the gold coins were named and valued, and its division into a hundredth part was called *sen*, of which, including the unit, five silver coins were struck. The standard weight of the *yen* was 416 grains troy, 9 parts pure silver, and one of alloy, bearing the intrinsic value of 4*s.* 4*d.* according to the British standard of 5*s.* 2½*d.* per ounce. The obverse of the coin had a dragon in its centre, and the reverse its denomination and value in Japanese characters. The subsidiary silver coins were of the same description and standard, denominated and valued as follows:—50 sen = 2*s.* 2*d.*; 20 sen = 10*d.*; 10 sen = 5*d.*, and 5 sen = 2½*d.*, not counting fractions. At first it was intended that the yen should be the only legal tender, the subsidiary coins being legal to the extent of one hundred times their value. But this rule was departed from afterwards in favour of gold coins. These were all denominated yen, being multiples in value of the silver unit, the first being a gold yen weighing 25·72 grains troy. Then there were 2, 5, 10, and 20 yen pieces, the last named weighing 514·41 grains, its standard of fineness being $\frac{900}{1000}$, in round numbers equal to 4*l.* 5*s.* No copper coins were struck during the year, as these required separate mintage machinery to that used for gold and silver.

§ 477. *Successful progress of the mint and issue of coinage.*—Previous to the 31st July the following numbers of silver coins were struck. Silver yen, 378,244; 50 sen, 330; 20 sen, 424,115; 10 sen, 553,270, and 5 sen, 265,600, the value in British money being 9062*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* These were coined from old silver pieces, Mexican dollars, Chinese sycee, ingots, and crude silver, sent in by the Government, Japanese, and foreigners, in about equal proportions, mintage being charged to merchants and bankers. The coinage of gold, in consequence of alteration of the dies, did not commence until October, and then only on a very limited scale. The original diameter of the coins was out of proportion to the thickness, and this defect being remedied the

five-yen gold piece would be similar to the British sovereign. The demand on the mint was so great during the months of October, November, and December, while the appliances were inadequate, that the work was continuous from sunrise to sunset daily. Thus the same mint which proved a dead failure in China, became a great success in Japan. Of course the foreign communities at the treaty ports were the first to circulate the new issue, especially the small silver coins, which they found useful in domestic dealings with the natives, where the cumbrous copper and iron currency was used, so that the demand became so great as to exceed the supply. By some strange oversight, no Government proclamation appeared to have been issued at this time throughout Japan regarding the standard value of the coinage, and its issue as a legal tender. This was soon put to rights by a notification to the customs authorities regarding the issue, which soon caused a demand among the native traders to take the silver yen in preference to the Mexican dollar, and it soon rose to a premium of eleven per cent. as against that coin, but it fell when the supply increased. It was reported that many of the Japanese exchanged their old coin and paper money for the new currency in order to hoard it. This and the melting up of Mexican dollars caused a continuous demand, and by dint of strenuous exertions the mint succeeded in coining 90,000 yen value in a day, so that by the end of the year three millions were issued. By that time the gold-coinage machinery was in full operation, but as the official year ended in July 31st, 1872, the report does not appear until after that date.

§ 478. *Ancient gold-mines of Sado being worked by machinery.* —In connection with this important subject it is interesting to refer to the native resources of the precious metals. During its isolation, when Japan depended entirely upon itself for these, silver was found only in limited quantities, while gold and copper were comparatively abundant. Hence the disparity in their relative value, which has been alluded to in these annals as the cause of much contention and ill-feeling between foreigners and natives. Though this vexed question was not entirely settled on the issue from the new mint, yet the Government having resolved to make the gold coinage a legal standard, it tended towards a satisfactory settlement. Meanwhile their attention was directed to the gold-mines which had

supplied that precious metal for centuries, by Mr. Gower, the mining engineer officially appointed as mineral surveyor of Japan. Upon inquiry he ascertained that the principal gold field, worked from time immemorial, was situated in the Island of Sado, lying off the west coast of Nip-pon, within thirty miles of Nee-e-gata, the treaty port frequently referred to. He found mines in different parts of the island, of which no records existed as to when they were worked. Those in operation lay on the west side of the island at a village called Ai-kawa. The entrances to these mines are in a valley running up from the village, and they are generally from 150 to 300 feet above the level of the sea, and from one to one mile and a half from it. The formation of the rocks is the same as that in Australia and California, where the gold is found in the auriferous quartz veins intersecting the strata, what the miners in these countries term "reefs." In their rude way the Japanese miners broke up and pulverized the gold-bearing quartz with heavy cast-iron mallets, worked by hand on iron tables, and the washing and separating processes were carried on in an equally primitive manner. The matrix was found to be rich in auriferous ore, sometimes associated with veins of silver and copper ores, but extremely hard and difficult to work. These mines were all the property of the Government, who employed about four thousand miners, crushers, and washers; but they rarely succeeded in working up more than eight tons a day, and that at such a heavy cost that the margin of profit between the expenditure and income was very slender. By Mr. Gower's advice they were induced to erect some proper stamping, crushing, and mercurial amalgamating machinery imported from Australia, which promised to increase the yield largely while being worked at a much less expense. Having been in operation only for a short time during this year, no report was issued.

§ 479. *Departure of the Mikado's Embassy for America and Europe.*—Now came the consideration of the most important question between the new Japanese Government and the Treaty Powers, namely, the revision of the treaties and conventions with them, which was provided for in a joint clause fixing upon July, 1872, as the time for further negotiation. As already stated, the Mikado having ratified the articles concluded by the Siogoon with foreign states, he accepted the whole responsibility of his acts therein, and commanded his new Ministry

to enter into negotiations for a thorough revision of the same. Ascertaining that the foreign Ministers at Yedo were not empowered to settle the vital diplomatic questions involved, the Government determined upon sending a special Embassy to America and Europe, accredited to the sovereign Powers for this purpose. Accordingly, after careful deliberation, the Japanese Legislature drew up a scheme for the constitution and objects of the Embassy, which received the sanction of the Mikado, and its members took their departure from Yokohama on the 22nd of December—the details are reserved for the next chapter.

§ 480. *An approximate census of the population published.*—Among other useful information and statistics published in the new 'Government Gazette' were the general results of a census taken of the population this year on the 1st of February; but it would appear that the computations were only approximate, inasmuch as in the following year similar returns were issued, which showed a decrease in the totals. From this it may be inferred that the mode of compiling the census was not from schedules filled up by families as with us, but in all probability gross returns from districts under the Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and their subordinates. Be that as it may, the information furnished on this important head dissipates all the speculative theories of foreigners pretending to some occult knowledge on the subject. The entire population of the Japanese Islands proper, namely, Kiusiu, Sikok, Nip-pon, and Yeso—not including Saghalien, which is jointly possessed by the Russians—together with the inhabitants of the lesser adjacent islands and islets, including the Loo Choo Islands, or the Mayico Sima group, as dependencies of Japan, was computed at 34,785,321. This showed that these counterpart islands in the Far East to the British Isles compares in population with their occidental rivals, only that, contrasting the area of the two groups, Japan is less populated. Their superficies, comprising 3850 islands, islets or rocks, as calculated by geographers, is put down at 143,078 square miles, with a corrected census, in round numbers, of 32,000,000 inhabitants. The British Isles, or the "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland," comprises an archipelago of about 5500 islands and rocks, the total area of which is 122,550 square miles, according to the Ordnance Survey; and the population (by

the census of 1871), 29,307,199. Of the gross returns, the sexes are computed as follows:—Males, 17,556,700, and females, 17,198,621, showing that the former exceeded the latter by 388,079; a remarkable circumstance, considering the decimation of the male population during the internecine wars that ravaged the country for the previous twelve years. In the classification of families the officials in the civil service, including the ex-daimio governors and their provincial subordinates, the officers and men of the army and navy, numbered 1,872,959; and ecclesiastics, 414,720; of whom 244,869 belonged to the Buddhist priesthood and monasteries; 163,140 were Sintoo priests and inferiors, and 6,711 Buddhist nuns and abbesses in the nunneries. These items furnish a total of 2,287,679 persons, whose professions and numbers could be well ascertained by the Government, but their returns of the remainder of the population were not so accurate. The gross total of these was set down at 31,954,821, comprising merchants, bankers, traders, shopkeepers, manufacturers, artisans, seafaring men, &c., together with their families resident in the cities, towns and villages, forming about one-fifth of that total; while the other four-fifths were made up by the rural inhabitants—men, women, and children—employed in farming, fishing, mining, and other country occupations. Allowing for exaggerated returns, which the officials were prone to concoct, it may be said that the population of Japan is not less than thirty-two millions at the present time; of whom twenty-four millions belong to the productive classes, including tea and silk producers; six millions following trading, industrial, and educational avocations, and the ruling classes and ecclesiastics two millions, or one-sixteenth of the whole. In the following year a more accurate method of compiling the census was adopted, but even that is meagre in its returns compared with our own exhaustive vital statistics. However, the foregoing approximate figures and classification will give the reader a general idea of the Japanese population.

§ 481. *Sanguinary outrage on two foreign professors of Yedo College.*—While the reformed Government were thus progressing successfully in establishing law and order throughout the realm on the basis of Western civilization, it is sad to record the continuance of sanguinary outrages on foreigners; especially on those who had entered the services of His Majesty the Mikado

as teachers of European languages, arts, and sciences. Scarcely had the new year set in when two professors at Yedo University were attacked in the usual cowardly manner by one or more *Samourai*, who still wore their deadly swords, as related in the following account in the 'Japan Mail:'—"It appears that, on the 13th of January, at about half-past eight, Mr. C. H. Dallas and Captain Ring were returning to their quarters at the *Kaiseijo* from a stroll, and when near the Nippon-bashi (the bridge whence all distances from Japan are measured), were attacked by one or two Japanese two-sworded assassins, as usual, from behind. Captain Ring received a wound on the back of the head, and another cut from the shoulder to the hip, eighteen inches in length, and in some places three inches deep. Word was sent to the *Kaiseijo* of what had happened, and very many of the students came down to the hut where they lay, bringing with them native physicians; who, after examination of their wounds, pronounced them mortal. Dr. Wheeler, however, of the English Legation, on his arrival pronounced them not necessarily so, though of a dangerous nature. The wounds have been sewed up." When these were carefully dressed, they were conveyed to their quarters. For some days their recovery was despaired of, fever having set in; but this passed over, and they soon became convalescent. The assassins made their escape. Immediately on the news of the outrage reaching the authorities, the ward-gates in the streets of the city were closed, and detectives put on their track, and every means used to secure the capture of the guilty parties.

§ 482. *Capture and punishment of the assassins.*—It was not until several months afterwards that the detectives got upon the right scent; but they succeeded in capturing them. They underwent a fair trial, at which the members of the British legation were present, and the two actual perpetrators of the outrage were condemned to death, as stated in the following notification of Her Majesty's Minister, and proclamation of the Supreme Government:—"The undersigned hereby informs Her Britannic Majesty's subjects in Japan that, in the case of the murderous assault committed on Messrs. Dallas and Ring, in the main street of Yedo, on the night of the 13th of January last, two Japanese of the military class, severally named Higo Schichi and Kato Rinkichi, have been convicted of an attempt to murder, and have been sentenced, first to degradation to the

common rank, and then to death by strangulation. A third man of the same class has been convicted of being accessory to the above crime, and has been sentenced to degradation and to penal servitude for ten years. These sentences were delivered this morning in the presence of the Japanese secretary of this legation, who also verified the bodies of the two criminals condemned to death immediately after their execution. The sentences have been made known this morning in the annexed proclamation of the Supreme Government, which was at once posted in various public places at Yedo, and will be published throughout the empire in the manner in which the decrees of Government are usually notified. (Signed) Harry S. Parkes, &c. &c. Yedo, May 17th, 1871." "Proclamation.—(Translation.) On the night of January 13th certain persons wounded some Englishmen in Nabecho in Canda. Vigilant search was made for them, and having been arrested, they have been punished in the manner shown in the annexed documents. Intercourse with foreign nations is a matter of the highest moment, and His Majesty has, therefore, issued repeated proclamations on the subject. That such acts should be committed in spite of them, not only involves the credit of the Government, but is a disgrace to the country. Every measure must be taken through the jurisdictions of the *Fin*, *Han*, and *Ken*, to prevent the occurrence of such offences. (Signed) Dai Io Kan, 3rd month." This prompt action of the authorities, and summary punishment of the criminals, satisfied all foreigners that the Government was earnest in its endeavours to protect them; while it had a wholesome effect upon the remnants of the dangerous classes by showing them that they would be brought to justice, and punished without respect to persons. Immediately after this, Sir Harry Parkes proceeded to London to consult with Lord Granville, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, respecting the points to be discussed at the revision of the treaty in the following year.

§ 483. *General decline in trade at the treaty ports during the year.*—As to the commercial condition of the open ports, things were not at all satisfactory. The three chief centres of foreign trade at Yokohama, Nagasaki, and Hiogo-Kobè showed a decline on the previous year's trade, and the lesser marts of Hakodadi, Osaka, and Nee-e-gata were very far behind, as shown in the

following brief *résumé* of the Consular Reports:—*Yokohama.*—The gross imports for the year show 14,445,231 dollars against 23,428,965 dollars; and exports 14,431,486 dollars, against 11,331,482. Exports thus show an increase of 3,100,004 dollars; but the general trade shows a decrease of 5,883,730 dollars as compared with that of the preceding year. *Nagasaki.*—There was a decrease in the import trade of 1,063,659 dollars, and an increase in the export trade of 1,014,989 dollars, as compared with the previous year. Considering the trade of the port in the aggregate, it may be pronounced almost stationary. The import trade suffered from the confined outlet of the market, and the absence of wealthy native merchants and banking facilities. This trade was unremunerative. Piece goods scarcely realized the cost; in many cases they left heavy losses. Arms were unsaleable; in many cases, stocks, which had been here for two or three years, were reshipped to Europe for want of a market. So much for the "piping times of peace!" The former profitable war-like trade of Nagasaki was gone. In exports, the most important trade was done in coals, which reached 102,700 tons, an increase of 45,000 tons on the previous year. *Hiogo-Kobè.*—The import of cotton goods amounted to 1,633,152 dollars; woollens, 1,006,965 dollars; metals, 20,000 dollars, and miscellaneous, 412,823 dollars. Exports 1,754,722 dollars, chiefly tea and silk. Four foreign steamers were purchased by the Japanese at a cost of 159,000 dollars. Hiogo was provided with a lighthouse, and the embankment of a projected railway to Osaka was progressing slowly. *Osaka.*—There were no direct foreign imports to this city, or exports from it, as this branch of its commerce passed through Hiogo. Of course, it had its imports of gold and silver for the mint, and the export of coin, but that has been already referred to. Of public works a lighthouse was erected at the mouth of the river, rendering the port approachable at night. Exclusive of numerous native sailing-craft the communication between the two ports was kept up by twenty-four small river steamers, some of which were constructed at Hiogo. *Hakodadi.*—The foreign trade at this port decreased from the two previous years, and did not much exceed that of 1868. In 1871 imports fell from 789,325 dollars in 1869, and 545,221 dollars in 1870 to 183,910 dollars; while exports showed only 495,101 dollars, against 716,835 dollars in 1870, and 990,710 in 1869. This falling off was attributed to the

defective administration which transferred the fishing districts from private into official hands. *Nee-e-gata.*—Trade and shipping at this port showed a continuous decline, so that in a few years they will cease altogether. The causes of this are the bar at the entrance of the river, and the unprotected roadstead. This general decline in foreign trade will be commented on in the next chapter of these changing annals.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1872.

EMBASSY FROM THE MIKADO TO THE TREATY POWERS IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA — RECEPTION BY PRESIDENT GRANT AT WASHINGTON — HER MAJESTY, QUEEN VICTORIA, RECEIVES THE AMBASSADORS IN AUDIENCE AT WINDSOR CASTLE.

§ 484. Erroneous views concerning Japanese missions to Europe and America. § 485. Diplomatic missions from the Siogoons were irregular embassies. § 486. Mikado's Embassy the first legitimate diplomatic mission. § 487. Arrival of the Japanese Embassy at San Francisco. § 488. List of the officials comprising the Mikado's Embassy. § 489. Edict of the Mikado concerning five young ladies. § 490. Arrival at San Francisco, and detention by snow in Utah. § 491. Reception of the Embassy by President Grant at Washington. § 492. Members of the Embassy dress in Japanese court costume. § 493. Ambassador and suite make a tour of the United States. § 494. Names and antecedents of the five Japanese young ladies. § 495. Position of womankind in Japan as gleaned by Mr. Lanman. § 496. Messages of the Mikado to the nobility, permitting the female relatives to go abroad. § 497. The privilege granted by the message not availed of by the nobility. § 498. Lengthened sojourn of the Embassy in the United States. § 499. Arrival of the Ambassadors and Japanese Minister in England. § 500. The Embassy makes a tour of England and Scotland. § 501. Reception of the Embassy by the Queen at Windsor Castle. § 502. The year spent by the Embassy in English-speaking communities. § 503. Address and replies of the Ambassador at Liverpool. § 504. Reticence of the Embassy regarding the condition of Japan. § 505. Amiable and courteous manners of the Ambassadors and suite.

§ 484. *Erroneous views concerning Japanese missions to Europe and America.*—The leading event in the annals of Japan—if it can be properly so termed—during this year was the Diplomatic Mission sent to America and Europe, as recorded in the last chapter. It is a fitting occasion to make a few remarks on Japanese missions generally, which have been accredited to Western Treaty Powers. In this category we cannot include any of the numerous "parties" of Japanese, who have from time to time travelled through the United States, Great Britain, and the Continent, to acquire a knowledge of Western civilization and its institutions, or the native diplomatists accredited as Resident Envoys and Consuls to the principal

foreign states. These subsidiary missions sent abroad have frequently been erroneously designated "Embassies from Japan," and their chief members dignified by the highest diplomatic titles, whereas they were simply emissaries, many of them belonging to the *ometsky* class, sent to spy the lands of the "outer barbarians." Not only were the members of these "parties" of the quasi-official class treated as Ambassadors and High Commissioners from the Siogoon Governments at Washington and several of the European Courts as diplomatic dignitaries, but there were others sent by the Great Daimios of Satsuma, Nagato, Tosa, Kanga, and Mito, for the purpose of purchasing arms and munitions of war, who were likewise received as high-class Government functionaries, most of the head men being designated "princes."

§ 485. *Diplomatic missions from the Siogoons were irregular embassies.*—It is now time that these erroneous impressions be cleared away; selecting out of the chaff those grains that were substantial diplomatic seeds, sown abroad to take political root. Even here, among the early missions, there were elements of a spurious character, inasmuch as the Siogoons, who accredited the chief envoys to the President of the United States, and the sovereigns of Europe, were not the supreme rulers of Japan to do so legitimately; as it could only be done by the hereditary monarchs—the Mikados. It is true that while in power, at the head of the Imperial army, a Siogoon was *de facto* ruler of Japan, and he was acknowledged as such by Foreign Powers, who designated him in their dispatches "His Majesty the Tycoon;" but he was not the sovereign *de jure*, who alone could accredit an embassy to a foreign state, and that was the late Mikado, Ko-Mei, whose signature was studiously withheld from the ratified treaties. Looked at in this light, the three diplomatic missions sent to America and Europe by the Siogoons were irregular embassies; but their negotiations, which led to alterations of the treaties, were rendered legitimate by the present Mikado Mutshto ratifying them. But the only genuine embassy, and the only fully accredited ambassador, were Iwakura and his collagues, who arrived in America at the commencement of this year to begin their arduous and prolonged mission throughout the Western hemisphere.

§ 486. *Mikado's Embassy the first legitimate diplomatic mission.*—Like the three preceding missions sent by the Govern-

ments of the Siogoons, this Embassy from the Mikado had for its object the revision of the treaties. But in the former instances it was only partial alterations or additions to the stipulations deemed inapplicable that was looked for; and these, on the whole, were conceded to the Envoys. In this fourth mission, however, the Minister Plenipotentiary Iwakura and his colleagues were deputed to re-examine the whole of the treaties, conventions, and tariffs entered into with Foreign Powers, in pursuance of Article XXII. of the British Treaty, wherein "it is agreed that either of the high contracting parties to this treaty, on giving one year's previous notice to the other, may demand a revision thereof, on or after the first of July, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-two, with a view to the insertion therein of such amendments as experience shall prove to be desirable." In view of this, the reconstructed Administration, under the new *régime* of the Mikado, gave the requisite notice to the Treaty Powers, and resolved to appoint one of their ablest statesmen as ambassador; assisted by a numerous staff, not only charged with diplomatic powers, but other officers from every department of the State, to inquire into, examine, and report upon the systems of legislature, laws, finances, and other branches of the Governments in the various countries the Embassy would visit. The scheme of its constitution and scope was discussed and drawn up by the Legislative Council, and after careful deliberation submitted to the Government, who revised it, and received the sanction of the Mikado by an edict, "in order that the ruling classes should study Western civilization for themselves, and not depend upon reports of inferiors as hitherto."

§ 487. *Arrival of the Japanese Embassy at San Francisco.*—On the morning of the 15th of January the Pacific mail steamer 'America' arrived at San Francisco, having on board one hundred and eight Japanese passengers, of whom fifty constituted the embassy; while the remainder consisted of five young ladies of rank, and fifty-three young gentlemen of noble families, and domestics. They were accompanied by the Hon. Charles E. De Long, American Minister to Japan, and Mrs. De Long, in whose hands the young ladies were entrusted, besides her own daughters. Mr. W. S. Rice, Interpreter to the United States Legation at Yedo, was also of the party, to give his valuable assistance in communicating with the Japanese, though

several of the ambassador's staff could speak tolerable English, but Iwakura himself could not. The following is a correct list of the names, rank, and official position in Japan of the fifty members composing the embassy.

§ 488. *List of the officials comprising the Mikado's Embassy.*—

AMBASSADORS EXTRAORDINARY.

Names and Rank.	Official Position in Japan.
SIONSI TOMOMI IWAKURA	Junior Prime Minister.
TERASHIMA MUENORI	Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs.

VICE-AMBASSADORS EXTRAORDINARY.

JUSSAMMI TAKAYOSSI KIDO	Councillor of State.
JUSSAMMI TOSSIMITSI OKUBO	Minister of Finance.
JUSHIE HIROBUMI ITO	Acting Minister of Public Works.
JUSHIE MASSOUKA YAMAGUTSI ..	Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs.

FIRST SECRETARIES.

YASKAZOU TANABÉ	Foreign Department.
NORIUKI GAH	Foreign Department.
ATSNOBOU SHIODA	Foreign Department.
GHEN-ITSIBO FOUKOUTSI	Treasury Department.

SECOND SECRETARIES.

HIROMOTO WATANABE	Foreign Department.
TERMOBI COMATZ	Foreign Department.
TADAS HYASH	Foreign Department.
KELJIRO NAGANO	Foreign Department.

THIRD SECRETARY.

QUANDO KAWAGE	Foreign Department.

FOURTH SECRETARIES.

MASSANTSNÉ IKEDA	Educational Department.
TADATSNÉ ANDO	Foreign Department.

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO CHIEF AMBASSADOR.

KOUNITAKÉ KINSO	Clerk to the Legislative Code.

ATTACHÉ.

YASSI NOMOUBA	Foreign Department.

COMMISSIONERS CONNECTED WITH THE AMBASSADORS.

JUSHIE TAKANORI SASSAKI	Acting Minister of the Judicial Department.
JUSSAMMI MITSITOMI HIGASSIKOUZÉ	Chief Chamberlain of the Imperial Court.

COMMISSIONERS CONNECTED WITH THE EMBASSY (*continued*).

Names and Rank.	Official Position in Japan.
JUGOI AKIYOSSI YAMADA	Brig.-Gen. of the Imperial Army.
MITS-AKI TANAKA	Commissioner of the Bureau of Census, Treasury Department.
FOUZIMAR TANAKA	Chief Clerk of the Educational Department.
TAMESAMI HIDA	Commissioner of Dockyards, Public Works Department.
NOBOUYOSSI NAKAYAMA	Vice-Governor of Hiogo.
YASSOUKAZ YASSOUBA	Deputy Commissioner of Revenue.
JUSHIE YASSOUNAKA ITSOUTSOUZI	Assistant Director of Ceremony, Imperial Court.
TADAKATS OUTSMI	Secretary to the Governor of Kanagawa.
YOSSIKAZOU WAKAYAMA	Treasury Department.
HISSOM ABÉ	Treasury Department.
MORIKATA OKI	Treasury Department.
KAZOUNARI SOUSIYAMA	Treasury Department.
NORIYAS TOMITA	Treasury Department.
NAGAMASSA YO IO	Treasury Department.
KASOUMITSI HARADA	War Department.
NORITSOUGOU NAGAYO	Educational Department.
NAGAMOTO NAKASSIMA	Educational Department.
MASSAYSNA KONDO	Educational Department.
WARO IMAMOURA	Educational Department.
KIMIHIRA OUTSIMOURA	Educational Department.
TAKATO O-SIMA	Public Works Department.
FOUROU OURIU	Public Works Department.
TAKÉ-AKIRA NAKANO	Judicial Department.
SIGUETOSSI OKA-OUTSI	Judicial Department.
YOSSINARI HIRAKA	Judicial Department.
HOUMIAKIRA NAGANO	Judicial Department.
TSOUNEMITS MOURATA	Imperial Court.
YOSSINAGA TAKATSOUZI	Imperial Court.
HIROYAS KAGAWA	Imperial Court.

489. *Edict of the Mikado concerning the five young ladies.*—When the Government proposed to the Mikado that some young females of rank should go to America along with the Embassy to receive an English education, the gallant young monarch—himself only twenty, and his spouse three years older—cordially agreed to the proposal, and signed the following edict, setting forth the reasons for thus inaugurating the emancipation, as it were of the female sex in Japan:—"My country is now undergoing a complete change from old to new ideas, which I sincerely desire; therefore I call upon all the wise and

strong-minded to appear and become good guides to the Government. During youth-time it is positively necessary to view foreign countries, so as to become enlightened as to the ideas of the world; and boys as well as girls, who will themselves become men and women, should be allowed to go abroad, and my country will be benefited by their knowledge so acquired. Females heretofore have had no position socially, because it was considered that they were without understanding; but if educated and intelligent they should have due respect. Five young Japanese women of rank go to America in care of Mrs. De Long, to be sent to some seminary of learning at the expense of the Government."

§ 490. *Arrival at San Francisco, and detention by snow in Utah.*—On the arrival of the Embassy they were received with much respect by the authorities of San Francisco, and some of the leading inhabitants, who formed themselves into a committee and escorted them from the wharf to a hotel, where they were cared for by Mr. Charles W. Brooks, the consul for Japan at the port. By an oversight on the part of their American friends, the Embassy was allowed to hurry on its departure by the Union Pacific Railway, without taking into consideration that it was the depth of winter, when the Rocky Mountains and the elevated *plateaux* are densely covered with snow, stopping all traffic either by road or rail. The consequence was, that when the train reached Utah territory, it could not proceed, and the whole party were snowed-up at Salt Lake City among the Mormons. However interesting that community and their chief, Brigham Young with his sixteen wives, might be to some literary visitors, it was not so to the Japanese, especially at such a rigorous season, when they suffered much discomfort from the intense cold in that elevated region; so that their first experiences of foreign travel were not by any means so pleasant as they had been led to anticipate. After a detention of ten days they resumed their journey, and reached Washington in safety.

§ 491. *Reception of the Embassy by President Grant at Washington.*—On the 4th of March the principal members of the Embassy, ten in number, were presented to President Grant by Minister De Long. In his address the Chief Ambassador Iwakura explained the objects of such a comprehensive mission generally, and of the United States in particular; he said, "We are authorised to consult with your Government on all

international questions, directing our efforts to promote and develope wide commercial relations, and draw into closer bonds the strong friendship already existing between our respective peoples." After giving them a cordial welcome, the President, among other things, stated in reply, "Though Japan is one of the most ancient of organized communities, and the United States rank among the most recent, we flatter ourselves that we have made some improvements on the political institutions of the nations from whom we are descended. . . . It will be a pleasure to us to enter upon that consultation upon international questions, in which you say you are authorized to engage. The improvement of the commercial relations between our respective countries is important and desirable, and cannot fail to strengthen the bonds which unite us."

§ 492. *Members of the Embassy dress in Japanese court costumé.* —On this occasion the members of the Embassy appeared at the reception in complete Japanese court costume, of satin purple underskirts, and rich black overskirts reaching to the knees, elaborately embroidered, each one carrying a long sword at his silken girdle, with highly ornamented double handles inlaid with gold. This was their last appearance, in what to our eyes appeared a grotesque costume, and no doubt did so to the shrewd observation of the Ambassador Iwakura, for not one member of the Embassy, during their long sojourn in the Western hemisphere of eighteen months, ever appeared afterwards in public, with what we would call feminine garments made of silks and satins. These were doffed, and at state ceremonies they dressed in a mixed European court costume, while in public they appeared in broad cloth coats and trowsers, wearing chimney-pot hats, and boots with elastics, or shooting-jackets and bell-shaped hats—which, though divesting them of conspicuousness, and from being mobbed in the streets by the *oi polloi*, did not improve their appearance in dignity or elegance. This was apparent when they visited Congress three days afterwards, all dressed in conventional black evening attire, wearing white kid gloves. However, to their credit be it said, that in their deportment they had the manners of the most polished gentleman, and the gravity of their dusky visages commanded respect. They were presented by General Banks to Mr. Speaker Colfax, who welcomed them in complimentary terms, to which the Ambassador made a friendly reply.

§ 493. *Ambassador and suite make a tour of the United States.* —After these formal introductions, Iwakura, having an eye to negotiating diplomatic business, put himself in communication with the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Fish, to discuss the revisal of the United States treaty with Japan. At one time it was rumoured that the principles, and even the details, of the revision had been arranged, but nothing transpired of their purport. Whatever these may have been, the American Government apparently held them in abeyance, until they ascertained what were the views of the European Treaty Powers, especially Great Britain, whose commercial interests equalled those of all other nationalities trading with Japan put together. Under these circumstances, the members of the Embassy made a tour of the United States, visiting the chief cities, where they were hospitably entertained by the municipal authorities, who uttered many high-flown speeches in the florid American style, which contrasted with the simple, grave, and practical responses of the ambassador. Then the subordinate members spread themselves over the country, each examining places of interest and instruction within his special department, taking notes and commenting thereon for his report to the Supreme Government in Japan.

§ 494. *Names and antecedents of the five young Japanese ladies.* —While the Japanese were taking notes and making comments on the Americans, a "'cute Yankee" hovered around them doing the same over these wandering children from "the land of the rising sun," which he duly published in a goodly volume. It is no part of these brief annals to review Mr. Lanman's book, but the following passage is interesting as it informs us what became of the five Japanese young ladies:—"The names of this delegation of Japanese girls are as follows: *Ijo Yoshimas*, aged fifteen; *Tei Wooyeda*, aged about fifteen; *Stematz Yamagawa*, aged twelve; *Shinge Negai*, aged ten, and *Ume Tsuda*, aged eight years. They represent in their person five distinct families, and while they are not immediately connected with the Imperial family of Japan, they do belong to that particular class which would in this country be considered the aristocracy of intellect and wealth combined. How these particular girls happened to be selected is not important, and though their fathers or friends were abundantly able to send them abroad, they have in reality come to this country as wards of the Japa-

nese Government. Their fathers are all connected with the present Government, and rank as follows: *Yoshimas*, retainer of a prince of Tokugawa; *Wooyeda*, second secretary of a department of State; *Yamagawa*, first chamberlain to the Prince of Idzu; *Nagai*, formerly a retainer of the Tycoon, but now holding allegiance to the ruling power, and having a public position; *Tsuda* is one of the secretaries of the agricultural department, as well as a geologist and civil engineer. They were consigned to the care of the Japanese Minister at Washington named Mori (an able diplomatist, with high literary attainments, speaking and writing English fluently). In view of very numerous applications that were made by educational institutions throughout the country to take them in charge, and while debating what was best to be done with the girls, Mr. Mori resolved to keep them for a few months under his immediate protection, and obtained comfortable and cheerful homes for them in Georgetown, under the general supervision of the editor of this volume. With regard to the kind of education the Government of Japan would have bestowed on these girls, that is a question which will probably be decided by Mr. Mori, and his personal views have been freely expressed in Washington society. He would, in the first place, have them made fully acquainted with the blessings of home life in the United States; and, in the second place, he would have their minds fully stored with all those kinds of information which will make them true ladies."

§ 495. *Position of womankind in Japan as gleaned by Mr. Lanman.*—On inquiry of Mr. Mori and the Japanese students with whom he came in contact, Mr. Lanman gleaned the following interesting information regarding the position of womankind in Japan:—"Whatever customs have been introduced among the lower classes through the pernicious teaching of Chinese literature, these have been constantly resisted by the better classes. Never original to Japan, our efforts have been to eradicate them as fast as possible. In proof of these assertions I refer to our ancient history, showing that out of a hundred and twenty-four sovereign rulers of Japan, eight empresses are included in the list. These ladies ruled long and wisely. Under the rule of an Empress, Japan attacked and conquered Korea, after a brilliant campaign; which country was held as a dependency for over six hundred years, when, finding it become more a source

of care than advantage, it was voluntarily relinquished. Under the rule of an Empress, Japan attained high literary culture, religion was inculcated and respected, and facilities for general education were greatly improved. . . . . Throughout most of the countries of Europe and Asia monarchical lines of hereditary descent have been wholly male; but I am happy to say Japan has prospered under eight female reigns. Finding our ancient practice confirmed by the experience of the chief European Powers, Japan need not hesitate now to enforce among all classes that respect and consideration for women that has never been wanting about her Court and among her better families. Thus may Japan hope to insure the stability of her civilization and regain her early chivalry, and, by enlisting the assistance of educated mothers and daughters, secure a noble future."

§ 496. *Message of the Mikado to the nobles, permitting females of their families to go abroad.*—This statement of the Japanese envoy Mori, which carries accuracy on the face of it, accounts in a great measure for the non-seclusion of the Japanese females as compared with China. It also explains the readiness with which the ladies of the Court, from the Mikado's consort downwards, entered into personal intercourse with the lady members of the foreign diplomatists' families, and subsequently appeared as freely in public as the high-born dames of Europe at the present day. In the eyes of the Government and nobility it was no mere assumption of foreign manners and customs, but a resumption of the condition of high society in old times. Moreover, in a political sense, it was the restoration of a legitimate *status* of womankind, which had been crushed by the military despotism of the Siogoons. Hence the advisers of the Mikado not only urged upon him the policy of female social emancipation at home, but to grant free permission to all who had the means to do so, to take their wives, daughters, or sisters abroad with them for education and information, which the gallant young monarch cordially assented to by promulgating the following message:—"We are of opinion that the reputation for civilization, wealth, and strength possessed by the countries of the globe arises from nothing else than the power of industry and perseverance which characterize their populations; and the reason why the populations develop their knowledge, polish their talents, and give effect to their power of industry and perseverance, is that each individual does his best as a member

of the nation. We have lately changed our ancient system, and desire to run equally in the race with other countries. How can we hope to succeed unless the whole population unanimously exert to the full its power of industry and perseverance? The nobles in particular, occupying as they do an honourable and important position, and being the object of observation of the whole people, are looked upon as models of action. Is it possible to dispense with an extraordinary degree of industry and perseverance on their part, such as will fit them to be the leaders in animating the people? Their responsibilities are indeed grave. In order to secure the result of industry and perseverance, nothing else is necessary but to develop knowledge and to polish the talents. In order to develop knowledge and polish the talents, nothing else is required but to fix the eyes upon the aspect of the civilization of the world, to cultivate pursuits of actual utility, to go abroad for study in foreign countries, and to learn practically. It may suffice for those whose advanced age precludes their being able to remain and study to make a tour abroad, to widen their circle of knowledge by seeing and hearing, and thus to improve their understanding. In consequence, too, of the want of a system of female education in our country, many women are deficient in intelligence. Besides, the education of children is a thing which is intimately connected with the instruction of their mothers, and really is a matter of the most absolute importance. There is, therefore, of course, not the slightest objection to those going abroad taking their wives, daughters, or sisters with them, so that they may learn that the instruction of females in foreign countries has a good foundation, and may become acquainted with the right system of educating children. If you will, all of you, really give your attention to this question, and exert your powers of industry and perseverance, there will be no difficulty for advancing in the region of civilization, in laying down the foundation of wealth and strength, and in running equally in the race with the other countries in the world! Do you, therefore, take well to heart our wishes, each of you do his best, and assist us in gaining the object of our hopes."

§ 497. *The privilege granted by the message not availed of by the nobility.*—However beneficial to the educational improvement of Japanese ladies of rank desirous of travelling abroad, the privilege granted by the foregoing message was not availed

of. Many wealthy grandees and their male relatives took their departure for America and Europe, but none were accompanied by their wives, daughters, sisters, or other female connections. Moreover, while the number of junior officials and students sent to study in foreign countries, where they were maintained by the Government, was augmented by departures in the British, French, and American mail steamers, yet not one was added to the list of female scholars. While the latter were restricted to the five young ladies already mentioned as being educated in the United States, there were not less than six hundred young men scattered through the educational institutions of Europe and America, most of them intended to remain abroad from three to five years. The only females whose male relatives availed themselves of the permission to travel abroad were connected with parties of play-actors or jugglers, and a few who accompanied the working members of the party sent to the Vienna International Exhibition. But these, of course, were common persons, who travelled abroad to earn money, and not to spend it. Whether ladies of the upper ranks of society were desirous of visiting Western nations and communities, or otherwise, we have no data to form an opinion. There can be no doubt that the proverbial curiosity of the sex was keenly alive to criticise their barbarian sisters in their own homes, but the Japanese "lords of the creation" were not inclined to go to the trouble and expense of making tours through Europe or America for that purpose.

§ 498. *Lengthened sojourn of the Embassy in the United States.*—To return to the proceedings of the Embassy in their tour through the United States, it is only just to state that every member, from the ambassador down to the junior secretaries, evinced the keenest intelligence in their inquiries and inspection of the works and institutions they visited, and everywhere they were received with the greatest cordiality and hospitality. Indeed, so absorbed were they in carrying out the details of their mission on the first foreign field they had come to, that they prolonged their sojourn in America beyond all the calculations that had been made as to the probable term of their absence from Japan. Spring and summer passed away, and these zealous ambassadors with their staff were busily engaged in solving the problem of Western civilization as it presented

itself to them in the institutions of the Great Republic. It is no part of these brief annals to enter into any detail, or even to give a summary of their proceedings; suffice it to say that there were few cities of importance they did not visit, or public works, especially of utility, or national institutions they did not inquire into and report upon. Autumn had set in before they had made arrangements for their departure, after nearly seven months had elapsed since their arrival at San Francisco.

§ 499. *Arrival of the Ambassadors and Japanese Minister in England.*—A number of junior members of the mission preceded the departure of the ambassadors, in order to make preparations for their reception in England. At the same time Terashima Munenori, the Japanese Minister appointed to be resident in London, hastened thither, accompanied by his private secretary Kinso. The day after his arrival he was accompanied by Sir Harry Parkes, British Minister in Japan, and proceeded to Osborne, where he was presented to the Queen, producing his credentials from the Mikado, as accredited plenipotentiary to Her Majesty's Court of St. James's —to which a favourable reply was vouchsafed at the audience. On the 17th of August the main body of the Embassy arrived at Liverpool, headed by Iwakura and Kido. They were received by General Alexander on behalf of the Government, the Mayor of Liverpool for the Corporation, and the Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, who presented an address of welcome. From thence they proceeded to London, which they made their head-quarters during their sojourn in Great Britain.

§ 500. *The Embassy makes a tour of England and Scotland.*—At the time of the Embassy's arrival it was the Parliamentary recess, and the Queen was proceeding to her highland home at Balmoral. Under these circumstances, the intended diplomatic audience of Her Majesty had to be postponed until her return, which was not expected for some months. Meanwhile, Iwakura and his colleagues were placed under the able guidance of Sir Harry Parkes, who paid them unremitting attention during their stay, and accompanied them in their progress through the country. Two days after their arrival they set out on their tour of inspection and entertainment. As reported in 'The London and China Telegraph':—"The members of the Japanese Embassy were entertained by Lord

and Lady Granville at dinner on the 19th instant, and afterwards visited the International Exhibition, which was brilliantly lighted up for the occasion. On the following day they proceeded to Brighton, were present at the reading of a paper before the geographical section of the British Association on the city of Yedo by Mr. Mossman, and were subsequently entertained by Mr. Burrows, the Mayor of Brighton." From this date they continued on their travels for four months, making the tour of England and Scotland, visiting all places of interest, especially the great centres of commerce, manufactures, mining industry, and the chief fields of agriculture. Everywhere they were received cordially, and in many cities with abundant hospitality by the civic authorities—including London, Manchester, Liverpool, and Glasgow—which was gratifying alike to all parties. Winter had set in before these indefatigable tourists returned to London, crammed with information gleaned throughout the length and breadth of the land, that reminded them so much of their own native isles in the Far East.

§ 501. *Reception of the Embassy by the Queen at Windsor Castle.*—Although great progress was made in the general objects of the mission, yet no diplomatic business was concluded. Earl Granville, on consulting with his colleagues in the Ministry, and the representatives of the Treaty Powers in London, arranged that no revisal of the treaties should take place until the return of the Embassy to Japan, where the foreign plenipotentiaries would be empowered to settle the business with the Mikado's Government. Iwakura and his colleagues had no alternative but to acquiesce in the arrangement, and report the same. His only duty now was to present his credentials to the European sovereigns, and afterwards take his departure. By this time Her Majesty had returned from Scotland to her abode at Windsor Castle, where arrangements were made for an official presentation of the Embassy. Accordingly, on the 4th of December they went in state to that noble pile, accompanied by Earl Granville, who presented them to the Queen in the grand audience chamber, of which event the following is a brief report:—"It may be mentioned that the Japanese party wore court suits of European fashion, they having seemingly discarded, while on their travels, the costume of their own country. The chief ambassador, after reading an

address to the Queen, delivered to Her Majesty his letters of credence. The royal reply was handed by the Queen to Lord Granville, who gave it to the ambassador. The visitors, after the reception, lunched at the castle and then took their leave, evidently pleased with the gracious welcome they had received at the hands of royalty." Twelve days after this ceremonial, the ambassadors, with their secretaries and suite, took their departure for Paris, after a sojourn of exactly four months in Great Britain.

§ 502. *The year spent by the Embassy in English-speaking communities.*—Thus it may be said that the first Embassy from the legitimate monarch of Japan to the Western Powers devoted the whole of their time in 1872 to pursue the objects of their mission solely in the United States and the United Kingdom. This was significant, inasmuch as they were the whole year mingling with English-speaking communities, and beheld in operation social, political, and religious institutions, surrounded by bulwarks of freedom to maintain their independence, yet open to all peaceful comers from the ends of the earth; while they specially saw in the wealth and power of this country, a group of islands, less in extent than their own, which had achieved a greatness unexampled in ancient or modern times, by industry, perseverance, uprightness, and liberty, which it would be their pride to emulate. Such, indeed, was the burden of the numerous speeches the Ambassador had to make in reply to the toasts at the banquets given in their honour, and the addresses presented by municipal councils and chambers of commerce. As an example of these, it is worthy of placing on record the address and reply to the Council of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, who entertained them at a sumptuous banquet, when the Premier and other members of the Gladstone Administration were present.

§ 503. *Address and replies of the Ambassador at Liverpool.*—On the 30th September the Secretary of the Chamber read the following address:—"The Council of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce beg most respectfully to offer to yourself and the other members composing the Embassy, a hearty welcome to Liverpool. The Council have reason for congratulating themselves, and the commercial community they represent, on the presence in this country of an embassy consisting of Ministers and nobles who are distinguished as the most eminent states-

men of the Japanese empire. Representing as they do the merchants of the greatest trading port in the British empire, the Council hail with the utmost satisfaction a mission which has for its objects the establishment of the most friendly relations between the Japanese and British empires, and the increase of their commercial relations. In the members of the Embassy the Council also welcome to this town the representatives of a nation, strong in patriotic feeling, full of courage, highly gifted among Eastern races, and unsurpassed in their devotion to the cause of progress." To this address the following reply was read by Mr. Aston, interpreter to the British Legation at Yedo, who gave his valuable services to the Embassy during its progress through Great Britain:—"Gentlemen,—We desire to thank you for the kind words you have spoken, and the hearty welcome you have extended to us. On behalf of the distant empire we represent allow us to reciprocate your friendly sentiments, and to express the satisfaction which we feel at the prospect of more intimate relations being established between our respective nations, which, we trust, will favour the rapid development of a mutually profitable trade. You have termed us patriotic, courageous, and progressive. We hope to infuse into our institutions a spirit that shall develop these virtues more and more among our people. To this end we have come among you, and shall gladly avail ourselves of every opportunity to study the method by which you have attained to such a high degree of commercial and administrative greatness." At the banquet, in reply to the toast proposing the health of the members of the Embassy, Iwakura replied in Japanese, which was afterwards interpreted as follows:—"Permit me to express the high sense of gratitude which I feel for the flattering manner in which you have received the toast given in honour of the empire we represent, and which has been coupled with my humble name. When the cloud of seclusion which hung over us was dispelled by the light of modern civilization, we learned that in the western part of the world there was an empire called Great Britain, and that she had attained a pre-eminent position amongst the enlightened nations for her industry and commerce. Having now become more intimately acquainted with her many institutions, we have discovered that their success is due to the liberal and energetic spirit by which they are animated. We shall be glad to adopt

the result of our observations in this country, in so far as we can comprehend and use what we have seen; and in this way we hope, as you have indicated, that Japan at no distant date may take the position in Asia which Great Britain now occupies in Europe. We take pleasure in thinking that the means to attain this high degree of civilization are mostly derived from the example of those who have advanced in every science and industry, and especially from a leading international association like that assembled here to-night." We may add that on this, as on many other occasions, the health of Sir Harry Parkes was cordially drank, and in his responses he bore testimony to the zeal and energy with which the members of the Embassy and their colleagues in Japan, had carried out the great work of revolution and progress in the country. It was almost impossible to conceive the difficulties and prejudices they had had to overcome. Much yet remained to be done, but looking at what had been already accomplished there was great hope for the future. He was glad that he had been able, in a feeble way, to assist his friends at that table to carry out and effect those great changes which had been alluded to by the previous speakers.

§ 504. *Reticence of the Embassy regarding the condition of Japan.*—Of course these flattering addresses and speeches, as usual, savoured of hyperbole, which ignored the disagreeable relations of the past, and not remarking too minutely on the negative policy of the Embassy regarding the institutions of their country. Without being censorious, there was an absence of good faith on the part of its members when in communication with foreigners interested in the mission, that detracted from its popularity. That they amassed abundance of information during their progress there cannot be the slightest doubt; and if their note-books and reports could but be seen translated into English, in all probability every member of the mission knew more about the Western hemisphere, and the nations within its vast boundary, than most European or American travellers. But, on the other hand, what did *we* learn regarding their country? What new insight did we obtain into the history and institutions of Japan that had not reached us before in a mysterious and doubtful form? We answer, little or nothing! In all the speeches of the Ambassador, and his replies to addresses, scarcely a word of new information passed

his secret diplomatic tongue. It was the same with his colleagues, and the junior members of his suite. On being questioned as to their social, political, or religious history, the answer was generally of a *non mi recordo* character. Seeing this, we must come to one of two conclusions, namely, that they were either afraid of divulging the truth concerning the history and institutions of their country, or they were not well informed concerning them. Perhaps a little of both prevented them from being communicative to strangers, and, like all Asiatic races, they preserved their reticence in spite of their progress in Western civilization.

§ 505. *Amiable and courteous manners of the ambassadors and suite.*—As to the personal conduct of its members, this embassy was irreproachable in its character, from the ambassadors themselves down to the subordinates of their suite. Individually the plenipotentiaries comported themselves in the presence of royalty as accomplished courtiers, and the junior members in public and private showed the manners of gentlemen. Their politeness towards every one with whom they came into contact won them golden opinions, especially in acknowledging, either personally or by letter, any attention accorded to them. Indeed, this pleasing feature in their manners might be imitated by members of European and American embassies with advantage. While thus according them a just meed of praise for their conduct, and the absence of any disagreeable sins of commission, we cannot avoid referring to those of omission, connected with their extraordinary reticence. Doubtless this "secretiveness," as phrenologists term the faculty, is inherent in their brains, and of large development. If so, it will take many generations to open up this mental isolation; even after the complete opening of their country is accomplished. If the higher ranks of Japanese society—which were well represented in this embassy—are desirous of emulating the enlightened communities its members visited, they would do well to cultivate a more open style of conversation and personal intercourse with foreigners, especially the British. Without this, Japan as a whole can never lay claim to the proud title, socially and politically, what she has assumed materially, namely, the "Great Britain of the Far East."

CHAPTER XXIX.

1872 (CONTINUED).

EXTRAORDINARY PROGRESS IN JAPAN DURING THE YEAR—THE MIKADO VISITS THE ARSENAL, LIGHTHOUSES, MINT, AND TREATY PORTS—SATISFACTORY RETURNS OF FOREIGN TRADE.

§ 506. Sweeping and rapid reforms in Japan during the year. § 507. Re-organization of the educational institutions at Yedo. § 508. The Mikado pays a visit of inspection to Yokoska Arsenal. § 509. Absence of great pomp or servility during the visit. § 510. Inland postal communication extended from Yedo. § 511. An exhibition held at Kioto, open to foreign visitors. § 512. Description of the city of Kioto by Mr. Smith. § 513. Brief account of the buildings and exhibits. § 514. Opening of the railway between Yokohama and Yedo. § 515. Yedo now established as the metropolis of Japan. § 516. The Mikado starts on a progress to visit his southern dominions. § 517. Number and cost of lighthouses erected in Japan. § 518. Mikado visits the Ports of Matoya, Oösima, and Osaka. § 519. Visit of the Mikado to the Imperial Mint at Osaka. § 520. Passage of the squadron through the Inland Sea. § 521. Entry of the royal squadron into Nagasaki Harbour. § 522. Landing and reception of the Mikado by foreigners and natives. § 523. Statistics and progress of the treaty ports during the year.

§ 506. *Sweeping and rapid reforms in Japan during the year.*—While the Embassy was making its progress through the United States of America and Great Britain, and its members collecting information with a view to obtain practical knowledge of Western civilization, the Government in Japan were progressing in the same path of reform with equal rapidity. We are not in possession of any data to conclude that there was an understanding between the statesmen at home and their colleagues abroad, to introduce immediately any social or political institutions recommended by them: At the same time, from the numerous sweeping changes and innovations brought into operation during this year (1872) by the Government under decrees of the Mikado appearing from time to time, as the reports of Iwakura and his suite arrived in Japan, we may infer that the one influenced the other. Be this as it may, the number and variety of these innovations

and alterations, affecting not only the ordinary relations of society, but the most ancient and vital institutions of the realm, within the short period of twelve months, are unexampled in the history of civilization.

§ 507. *Re-organization of the educational institutions at Yedo.*—The appointment of Iwakura as ambassador rendered vacant the post of Minister for Foreign Affairs. His Excellency was succeeded by Soyeshima, formerly a Sanji or Councillor of State, and under the old *régime* an adherent of the daimio of Hizen. Goto Shojiro, Minister of the Public Works Department, was promoted to be president of the Council of State, and succeeded by Ito at the former board. The newly appointed Minister of Education, in order to effect a thorough reform in the department and educational institutions under his control, temporarily suspended all operations by dismissing partially some of the teachers and professors with a general vacation of the students. The object in view was to re-establish the *Monboo Nankoo*, or College for General Education, and the *Monboo Tookoo*, or Medical College, on a sound European basis, with properly qualified foreign professors and native teachers or assistants. No immediate changes took place in the former staff, but it was intended that none but professional men should be eligible for the posts. With regard to the students, none were readmitted without a fresh examination, while new rules and regulations were put in force for their discipline. The effect of this was to reduce the number of matriculated students in the English, French, and German classes from eleven hundred to less than half. For those who were not eligible to enter on the college *curriculum*, subordinate preparatory schools were established outside the university, but under the same State department. The general result of this reorganization of the educational institutions at Yedo, formed on a foreign basis, was greater efficiency in all their branches, and the appointment of new teachers from time to time recommended by the resident Ministers abroad.

§ 508. *The Mikado pays a visit of inspection to Yokoska Arsenal.*—Among the public works under foreign management established under the *régime* of the Siogoons and continued under that of the Mikado, the arsenal of Yokoska holds pre-eminence. It will be remembered that this navy yard was begun under the superintendence of French officials, recom-

mended by the resident Minister of the late Emperor Napoleon, and *matériel* furnished by French contractors. At the time of the revolution in 1868, there were some doubts of the liabilities thereby incurred by the Japanese being disbursed; but all claims were satisfactorily met, and the works kept in operation under the able superintendence of the French manager, M. Verny, and his assistants. From time to time the satisfactory progress of the works at the arsenal was reported to the Mikado—who evidently takes more interest in ships of war and the formation of a navy on a foreign model, than the organization of his army. Accordingly, when it came to his knowledge that it was necessary to construct a second dock to meet the requirements of the arsenal, he consented to examine the works in person, and lay the foundation stone on the 1st of January—thus inaugurating a new foreign work on the Christian New Year's Day. On this occasion he was attended by the Minister of Public Works, several other Ministers and high officers of his household, and a body-guard of two hundred men. From His Majesty downwards all were dressed in Japanese official costume, the guard in gaudy grotesque uniforms, armed with foreign rifles, but they performed their duties in a tolerably systematic order. His Majesty inspected the various workshops, which were in full working order, and tastefully decorated, with raised platforms at every point from which a good view of the operations could be got. The ponderous steam hammers and elaborate machinery were put to their usual purposes, and the capacious cupolas were filled with molten metal, which was run into moulds ingeniously made for the occasion. One of these represented in large native characters, "Long live the Mikado," and another his heraldic insignia. He then saw the practical uses of the patent slip, and graving dock, and laid the foundation-stone for a second dock. The processes of bending iron plates, hot and cold, of riveting boilers, of drilling holes, of turning shafts, axles, and cylinders, of planing iron and wood by machinery, including circular sawing, all engaged his curiosity and attention, and he made intelligent minute remarks upon everything he saw.

509. *Absence of great pomp or servility during the visit.*—When we consider that this youthful monarch and his father had issued edicts, scarcely five years previously, ordering their commander-in-chief and the feudal nobles to drive the hated

foreigners into the sea, this inspection of a foreign arsenal, under the superintendence of foreigners, stands out among the first acts of the Mikado in his conviction of the necessity of engaging foreign skill to open up the resources and strengthen the defences of his country. This was no mere "show" visit to witness the novelties, and after a stay of a few hours to take his departure. As an evidence of the deep interest he took in examining the works, he remained two nights at Yokoska, and only left on the second day. Moreover, there was an entire absence of official pomp by him and his Ministers in their tour of inspection towards M. Verny and the other foreigners in the arsenal, while on the part of the native artificers and labourers not one was required to prostrate himself in a servile manner on the ground as heretofore in the presence of his sovereign. All could look upon the light of his countenance, where formerly it was hid behind a screen from the highest nobles of the land. It may be said that this visit to Yokoska Arsenal was the inauguration of the new policy that divested the monarch of a sacredness derived from divinity to henceforth live in the affections of his subjects as a just and upright ruler. However, his Ministers objected to the circulation of a photograph which a foreigner had of a group including the Mikado during his visit. A line had to be drawn, although subsequently he gave a sitting to a native photographer, while the artist of the 'Illustrated London News' forwarded a likeness of His Majesty in his quaint robes of state, which may be considered the last time he appeared in them.

§ 510. *Inland postal communication extended from Yedo.*—At the commencement of the year Government endeavoured to extend the inland system of post. This was effected by swift-footed postmen, who ran from stage to stage with a small package of letters, which was handed from one to another at specified beats. These nimble-footed men could accomplish from one hundred to a hundred and twenty-five miles a day, according to the nature of the road and the state of the weather. Under favourable circumstances, the distance from Yedo, or Yokohama to Nagasaki, which is about five hundred and sixty miles, could be done in four days and a few hours. Formerly this postal communication rarely travelled more than once a week, and the letters were chiefly on official business, or between the wealthy classes of the community, for which the rates were

heavy. In order to extend the facilities of correspondence, the Government established a daily post at low rates of postage. For example, a letter under half an ounce from Yedo to Hiogo was charged one penny, or its equivalent, and to Nagasaki four pence, while newspapers were charged respectively one half-penny and three half-pence. This was a great boon, but the post was not much encouraged, for the mail runners passed through places where they were attacked and robbed by highwaymen, sometimes with violence. Between Hiogo and Osaka the road was perfectly safe; so there were three posts per day, leaving every three hours after 9 A.M.; the mails being carried by special messengers, who accomplished the distance in from three to five hours. However, whenever steamers were starting with a mail-bag between the ports named, both natives and foreigners preferred that postal service, as being more speedy, cheaper, and safer.

§ 511. *An exhibition held at Kioto, open to foreign visitors.*—In view of the forthcoming International Exhibition at Vienna in 1873, the Austrian *Chargé d'Affaires* at Yedo requested the Government to exhibit articles of Japanese manufacture and produce, for which ample space would be allotted in the building. Not only was this cheerfully complied with, but a commission was appointed to organize a similar exhibition on a limited scale in Japan, to which all foreigners were invited to send exhibits and visit it in person. The city selected for this purpose was the ancient capital, Kioto—now designated *Sai-Kiyo*—which hitherto was closed against the presence of foreigners. Though on this occasion their movements were to be free during the time the exhibition was open, yet these were restricted to the precincts of the city, and every visitor was to carry a Japanese passport countersigned by the consul of his country resident at Hiogo or Osaka. Accordingly notifications to that effect appeared in the native 'Government Gazette,' and the local newspapers in English; stating that the universal exhibition would be opened on the 17th of April, and during a period of fifty days from that date, inclusive, foreigners would be allowed to visit Kioto. Guards were to be stationed throughout the city to protect them, who would be on duty day and night; each man having white stripes on both cuffs, with the word "guard" in English red letters. Accommodation at hotels and guides, with fixed charges, were arranged by a

committee, flying a distinguished flag, white with a red border, and the word "Exhibition" in the centre.

§ 512. *Description of the city of Kioto by Mr. Smith of China.*—The number of foreigners who availed themselves of this opportunity to visit the ancient capital of Japan was limited, and only a few ranked among the class of exhibitors. Nevertheless those who did so were charmed with the picturesqueness of the scenery in the city and suburbs, and gratified by the interesting nature of the exhibits, the attention shown them by the officials, and with the perfect safety from injury or insult in their intercourse with the inhabitants. Among the accounts published, one by Mr. Patrick Smith, of the 'North China Herald,' furnishes a faithful and graphic description of its contents and surroundings, from which we cull a few particulars. Arrived at the city, he and his party were delighted to find a comfortable hotel, situated on a height commanding an extensive view of the city, provided for the accommodation of foreign visitors: besides foreign furnishings, there was a letter-box for their correspondence, while the fare was excellent, at moderate charges. It was situated on the east side of the city, which lies spread out beneath, on an extensive plain bounded on every side by hills; and roughly computed at five miles from north to south, and three and a half from east to west. An insignificant stream, named the *Kama Gawa*, rising in the mountains to the north, meanders through the city, engrossing a wide bed, and spanned by numerous wooden bridges. The city is well laid out, broad and clean streets cross each other at right angles, and the houses are mostly of the better class. In the neighbourhood of the Mikado's palace, named *Gosho*, is the aristocratic quarter, but the removal of the Court to Yedo had rendered the dwellings comparatively tenantless. As near as could be ascertained, the population of the city was at the time under three hundred thousand.

§ 513. *Brief account of the buildings and their exhibits.*—The exhibition was held in three large temples, separate in their arrangements, and the charge for admission to each equivalent to one shilling and sixpence. The exhibits were laid out on red-draped tables, running along the sides of the temple galleries, and were sufficiently well arranged; but so numerous and minute, and in most cases so strange, that it was difficult to describe them. On entering the *Chionin* Temple, a collection

of foreign articles first caught the eye, principally jewellery, timepieces, watches, barometers, musical boxes, and weapons. There was nothing noteworthy among them, except an antique gold watch, the case studded with diamonds. Of native productions there was a collection of skins of deer, wolves, seals, and other animals, with stuffed specimens of double-headed snakes. There was a large collection of native suits of armour, made of metal, leather, shark, or other tough skins, ornamented with facings of silk, and some inlaid with gold and silver in figures or scrolls. One suit was pointed out that belonged to a female who fought for Japan five centuries ago, and another, of excellent workmanship, taken from a Corean general. Of the products of the loom there was an extensive display, especially in the silk fabrics, brilliant in every colour and shade, and embroidered in the richest designs. Much that was exhibited was for sale, and the prices asked seemed reasonable. But the *Kenninji* Temple contained the most attractive articles for foreign visitors, comprising the choicest articles of *virtù*, ancient and modern, that the skilful Japanese have produced, and these laid out on their exquisite lacquer-ware, that from time immemorial has never been excelled by any other nation. Bronzes were numerous, also ivory carvings, and porcelain wares of all kinds. Then came samples of tea from different districts, neatly arranged in boxes and jars. The third temple, named *Nishi Honganji*, had more of these vegetable products, including tobacco and cereals; besides an extensive collection of mineral products, including specimens of native gold, silver, copper, and lead ores. Altogether this first attempt at an International Exhibition was creditable to all concerned, and no doubt will prove the precursor of many others, in cementing the foreign industrial relations it inaugurated.

§ 514. *Opening of the railway between Yokohama and Yedo.*—This temporary exhibition of progress in the footsteps of the foreigner was followed up by the more important and permanent public work of the first railway in Japan, from Yokohama to Yedo, a distance of eighteen British miles. After many difficulties, financial and otherwise, the Government announced that the line would be opened for traffic on the 12th of June. On the previous evening four members of the Ministry, accompanied by the Minister of Public Works and the foreign Commissioner of Railways, came down to Yokohama, and made a

formal inspection of the line, which they pronounced ready for traffic. Next morning a train was in readiness, comprising the locomotive, two first-class carriages, two second-class, one third, and a luggage van. The plan on which they were built was similar to those on the German railways, that have a gangway in the middle, with the compartments opening into each other by sliding doors. About a hundred foreigners and natives, including several Japanese officials, entered the train, which started at eight o'clock, awakening up the echoes of the settlement with its shrill steam-whistle. On it rolled as smoothly as on the best line in Europe, and, after stopping at the intermediate stations of Kanagawa, Tsurumi, and Kawasaki, crossing the bridge over the Logo stream safely, it arrived at Sinagawa, the southern suburb of Yedo, in thirty-three minutes. There was no particular ceremony on the occasion, yet this was the most significant work of progress that has been done in Japan; especially if we bear in mind that the railway is laid almost parallel on the bay side of the *To-Kai-do*, the main highway so frequently mentioned in these annals as the scene of the most sanguinary outrages committed on foreigners only a few years before.

§ 515. *Yedo now established as the metropolis of Japan.*—While Kioto was being deserted by the aristocracy, whose ancestors for centuries had loyally surrounded the monarchs of the legitimate dynasty, Yedo now became the real metropolis of Japan, although designated only the "Eastern capital." Thither the Mikado had removed his Court, including not only the great officers of his household, but the Empress, the Empress-mother, and their establishments. Moreover, most of the ex-daimios, at the invitation of His Majesty, resumed their residence at Yedo with their families, not as formerly in the days of the Siogoons, accompanied by hosts of sanguinary armed retainers, but peacefully taking up their abode under the mild sway of the new *régime*. The only circumstance which threatened to disturb the peace of the city was an attempt of some discontented *Samourai*, belonging to the Satsuma clan, to force an entrance into the Mikado's castle; when a collision took place between them and the guard, several being seriously wounded and made prisoners. It turned out that these men had suffered by the new order of things, and wanted to bring their case personally before the Mikado. A lenient view was taken of their conduct; they were

released, and their grievances submitted to the local administrators of the *ken* or district from whence they came.

§ 516. *The Mikado starts on a progress to visit his southern dominions.*—Seeing that there was nothing to apprehend for the safety of His Majesty's person, he freely moved about the city and suburbs; and on one occasion, when an extensive fire rendered some thirty thousand persons homeless, he manifested the greatest anxiety in seeing them relieved—a measure of charity in which the authorities were aided by liberal subscriptions from the foreign residents at Yokohama. Everywhere that the Mikado ventured to show himself in public he was received with the greatest loyalty and homage by his subjects, and the highest respect and courtesy by all foreigners. In order to extend the area of these personal visits, he resolved to make a royal progress through his south-western dominions by sea, visiting all the principal seaports, including those open by treaty to foreigners. On this occasion His Majesty, like his ambassadors abroad, discarded the ancient Japanese costume befitting his Imperial rank, and was dressed in a blue military uniform of foreign cut, with a cocked hat. Foreign garments were worn also by the members of his household who accompanied him, and the native officials at the different places he visited. On the eve of his departure, the Marquis of Blandford (then on a visit to Japan), Admiral Jenkins, and several officers of the United States Navy, were presented to him. One who was present describes the Mikado as a very ordinary-looking Japanese, who did not seem at home in his new costume. His senior Councillor of State, Saigo Kichinoske, was Minister in attendance on His Majesty, but the administration of affairs continued to be carried on without interruption by the Government at Yedo, where all the foreign legations were now safely located. A squadron of six men-of-war, including three armour-plated "rams," mustered in Yedo Bay to escort the Mikado on his naval tour. On the morning of the 28th of June he left the castle, to embark on board the flag-ship of the Japanese Admiral. Owing to the early hour of his departure, which the state of the tide necessitated, the presence of the Diplomatic Body was excused, and very little of the spectacle could be seen by the spectators on shore, in consequence of the misty weather. However, H.M.S. 'Rinaldo' did the naval honours on the occasion by firing a salute of twenty-one guns and manning her yards.

§ 517. *Number and cost of lighthouses erected in Japan.*—On their departure the ships of the squadron hoisted a new national flag, which was previously duly proclaimed in the 'Government Gazette' as an alteration on the former flag. The design consists of a red oval-shaped figure on a white ground, with green bands stretching diagonally to its margin, from the four corners. Proceeding down the Gulf of Yedo, the Mikado gave orders to pass near all the lighthouses and light-ships on the route, so that he could inspect their outward appearance at leisure. The occasion is opportune to make some brief remarks upon this important branch of public works in Japan, which in time may rival those on our own coasts and harbours. At this time there were fourteen lighthouses and two light-ships, completed and lighted. These were chiefly erected in Yedo Gulf, the shores of the Inland Sea, and the capes between these sheltered waters; so that the first series of lighthouses erected stand on the coasts adjacent to the navigable channels between the treaty ports of Yokohama and Nagasaki, which foreign vessels chiefly navigate. The cost of their erection was, in round numbers, one hundred thousand pounds; lighthouse establishment, including maintenance of lighthouses for three years, machinery, stores, salaries of officers, foreign and native, upwards of fifty thousand pounds; and cost of steam tender, with its maintenance and repairs for three years, less than fifty thousand pounds; making a total of two hundred thousand pounds for this service, from which foreign shipping derives the greatest benefit.

§ 518. *Mikado visits the ports of Matoya, Oösima, and Osaka.*—The first port at which the Mikado landed was that of Matoya, in the territory of Isé, where there is a lighthouse of the first order, which His Majesty inspected. Near this port are the shrines of his ancestors, called *Rio Daijin Gu*, where he went, and piously made his devotions. Proceeding southward, the squadron anchored in the harbour of Oö-sima, where there is a revolving light, visible at a distance of eighteen miles, and adjoining it, on the mainland of Siwomi-saki, a fixed light visible at twenty miles' distance. The latter lights the entrance to the Inland Sea by the Kii channel, up which the ships steamed; passing the narrow entrance to Isumi Nada, where a lighthouse is erected on an island that forms two narrow channels, while there are four other lighthouses on the

shores of Osaka Bay. Here the squadron anchored, and His Majesty proceeded on shore to the city of Osaka. As soon as he landed, he was received by native officials in foreign costume, with some attendants leading a fine horse, handsomely caparisoned, which had been kept ready saddled for his arrival. His Majesty mounted the steed with alacrity, and rode from the landing-place through the foreign settlement, preceded by an officer on foot, bearing a small crimson flag having a white chrysanthemum crest in its centre, and followed by his suite. The Imperial party then entered the Foreign Customs establishment, where he received the various resident consuls and other local officials. Here he remained and partook of some refreshment, when he again mounted his steed, attended by the Governor and Vice-Governor of Osaka, also on horseback, and then rode slowly through the settlement, between two files of native infantry in European uniform, on to the city. At a place called the "Foreigners' Bridge" a large bonfire was lit by a neigbouring resident, the light from which enabled the small group of foreigners which had assembled there to get a good view of His Majesty and retinue, on such an interesting occasion of his royal progress.

§ 519. *Visit of the Mikado to the Imperial Mint at Osaka.*—Without drawing rein, the Mikado rode on to the Imperial Mint, where he dismounted, entered the "Reception House," which was handsomely fitted up for the occasion, and took up his abode there during his stay at Osaka. Next day he devoted a long morning to the details of the works, and subsequently gave Major Kinder, Director of the Mint, an audience, at which he graciously expressed his approval of all he had seen. The following extract from that officer's first annual report gives the particulars of the interesting event:—"His Majesty arrived at the Mint on the 9th of July, and departed on the 12th, residing at the Reception House, which by Imperial command is in future to be designated *Sempukan*. This auspicious event must lead to beneficial results, as His Majesty devoted much time to the Mint, and was evidently greatly interested in all the details of the coinage. I was not only highly honoured by an introduction to His Majesty, but on completion of the inspection was admitted to a special audience, when his Imperial Majesty graciously condescended to address me as follows:—'It is with much pleasure I look around the Mint,

now completed in its various departments. I feel all is entirely due to your exertions and diligence, which I deeply praise and fully appreciate.' While sincerely thanking His Majesty for these expressions, which repay me for the toil and anxiety I have had to contend against during my labours here, I cannot forget how much is due to those Japanese and European officers who have so ably assisted in the successful results which have thus far attended this important undertaking." Among these officers he specially notices Mr. Smith, C.E., who "has introduced one of the greatest improvements possible to the automaton balances, for which he deserves the highest praise. The machines now weigh 45 coins per minute."

§ 520. *Passage of the squadron through the Inland Sea.*—Re-embarking at Osaka, His Majesty crossed this magnificent bay to the anchorage off Hiogo, then landed at the foreign settlement of Kobé, where he was received by the native and foreign officials, without any great demonstration. The grandest reception in store for the Mikado awaited him at Nagasaki, where great preparations were made by natives and foreigners to do him honour on the occasion of his visit. By this time, also, the squadron was increased to nine men-of-war, varying in size from a corvette to a gun-boat, all commanded by Japanese officers, and manned by Japanese crews, excepting some foreign engineers and naval instructors on board. As the vessels slowly navigated their course through the intricate channels of the Inland Sea, the Royal voyager beheld for the first time the unparalleled picturesque panorama it presented. Of course the impressions and sensations felt by His Majesty have not transpired, but we may infer from his slow progress that he lingered over each new beauty of the scenery which came into view, and doubtless felt proud of being monarch over so fair a region. And when he made his exit by the famous Strait of Simanosaki, he must have been delighted at seeing the approaches to that narrow channel lighted up by no less than four lighthouses, making it as safe for vessels to pass through by night as by day.

§ 521. *Entry of the royal squadron into Nagasaki Harbour.*—After a safe passage, the squadron entered the land-locked harbour of Nagasaki on the afternoon of the 19th of July. By a preconcerted arrangement two guns were fired, as a signal that the fleet conveying the Mikado had hove in sight,

which brought out all the natives and foreigners to witness the landing of His Majesty and retinue. In a few minutes afterwards the forerunner of the fleet, the 'Teibo-kan,' rounded Takaboko Island, a short distance in advance of the iron-clad corvette 'Rujo-kan,' flying His Majesty's flag; the latter being followed by the 'Nissin-kan,' 'Mosun-kan,' 'Yuko-kan,' and the 'Unyo-kan.' The 'Takuba-kan' and 'Kasuga-kan,' which had arrived some two hours in advance of the squadron, took up the anchorage alongside the 'Hosho-kan,' which had arrived the previous day. That vessel and the Russian corvette 'Vetiaz' manned their yards, and, in conjunction with the principal battery on shore, fired a royal salute as the 'Rujo-kan' steamed up the harbour to her anchorage. With the greatest promptitude numerous boats with officials pulled off to the flag-ship, which was followed up by boats from every ship in the squadron, forming a lengthy procession accompanying His Majesty's barge to the landing-place, amidst the thundering of two hundred guns. The appearance of the vessels, the precision in saluting, and the landing arrangements indicated that the officers and crews had attained considerable proficiency in their drill.

§ 522. *Landing and reception of the Mikado by foreigners and natives.*—A temporary landing-stage had been erected in the rear of the once famous, or rather infamous, artificial islet of De-sima, which presented a very different aspect on that joyous occasion than in the days of Dutch degradation. Indeed, Nagasaki itself presented quite a different appearance, with its festal drapery, to its every-day aspect. Crowds of holiday-seekers dressed in their gaudiest attire, which lend an air of gaiety to such occasions, were considerably augmented by the arrival of persons from the rural districts, all anxious to catch a glimpse of their Sovereign, caused the approaches to the landing-place to be like a gigantic fair. On the signal being fired, considerable excitement prevailed in the native town, where the people were to be seen coming from all directions towards the thoroughfares through which the procession intended to pass. Foreign spectators were numerous, but they were scattered among the native multitude; and, the day being very hot, there appeared only a sprinkling of white faces and dresses. The landing was accomplished in good order, when the guns ceased firing; but not a shout of

welcome or rejoicing arose from the native throng, as would have been the case in a European community. They silently squatted down, as the guard of honour presented arms on His Majesty's landing. A strong, black, but diminutive horse was then brought forward, led by four grooms; this he mounted, dressed in his new uniform of blue and gold, and rode to the place prepared for him in the city, accompanied by his retinue, where the usual presentations were made of native and foreign officials. At night the foreign residents testified their rejoicing on the occasion by an illumination of the settlement, and prominent points in the harbour, which had a very fine effect. The town and suburbs were one blaze of lights, chiefly coloured lanterns. Devices of various kinds were formed, but the chrysanthemum crest of the Mikado prevailed. In the harbour the Russian corvette 'Vetiaz' had her outline illuminated, and H.M.S. 'Ariel' sent up a display of fireworks. Altogether, it was the most novel and pleasant welcome the young monarch had received during his progress. On the following evening his own squadron responded to the illuminations of the foreigners, as well as the town and suburbs, and several large fire-balloons were sent up into the air. After examining the arsenal and other public works at this port, the Mikado returned in the flag-ship to Yedo Bay, and reached his castle after an absence of two months.

§ 523. *Statistics and progress of the treaty ports during the year.*—While the progress of Japan, at home and abroad, socially, politically, and materially, was making such rapid strides, it is satisfactory to record that the foreign communities on the whole found their interests progressive also, although not so fast as those of the people among whom they had cast their lot. At *Yokohama* the trade returns, which showed great depression during the previous year, had increased to the highest point previously attained, showing in round numbers 20,000,000 dollars of imports, and 14,000,000 dollars of exports, or about a total of 7,350,000*l.* sterling, against 6,500,000*l.* in 1871. The introduction of gas into the settlement was an important feature of the year. The gas-works were completed and in working order on the 1st of September. Many native newspapers were started throughout the country, and of an improved character. The movements of the Japanese Embassy were watched with considerable in-

terest by the mercantile community. Among other reforms, that of legislation with regard to bankrupt estates of Japanese was noticeable, together with the establishment of a native law-tribunal at this port, the business of which was conducted promptly and well. At *Nagasaki* the aggregate out-turn of the trade of the port, including exports and imports, amounted to 5,108,706 dollars against 4,158,551 dollars in the previous year, the increase being chiefly in exports. During the year four sailing-ships loaded cargoes direct for Britain; and, for the first time, a steamer loaded for London. The trade in coal showed a large increase upon that of former years, and had found its principal support from the Pacific mail steamers, and men-of-war. At *Hiogo-Osaka* the total of the imports from foreign countries during the year was set down at 4,246,779 dollars against 1,739,343 dollars in 1871; and exports at 5,678,224 dollars, against 2,238,689 dollars; thus exhibiting an increase of 3,439,556 dollars. This is exclusive of treasure, which amounted to 4,689,900 dollars imported, and 3,923,790 dollars exported. There were unusual large shipments of copper, or rather bronze, obtained by the melting down of images, bells, and other paraphernalia in Buddhist temples. This arose from the discouragement given to that sect by the Government, which caused the priests to melt down the portions of their moveable property to raise money. The number of foreign residents at Hiogo increased during the year from 29 to 373, and at Osaka from 73 to 81. At *Hakodadi* the import trade, never a large one, showed very little difference from the previous year; but it was difficult to ascertain, as it lay chiefly in the hands of Japanese and Chinese traders. On the aggregate of imports and exports in foreign bottoms, there was an increase of 253,765 dollars. Among other matters affecting the progress of the port was a proclamation remitting all import and export duties on native trade. The object of this concession to native merchants was stated to be that the town might recover its prosperity that had been impaired by the civil war. The foregoing brief statistics are derived from the consular reports, but no returns are published from the unsuccessful port of *Nee-e-gata*. The Blue-book containing them closes with a series of tables compiled by Sir Harry Parkes, which present a general view of the foreign trade of Japan for the year 1872, as compared with

1871, and which show that there has been a large increase, both in exports and imports, the totals being in round numbers 50,500,000 dollars, against 37,000,000 dollars. Besides these returns of produce and merchandise, the imports and exports of treasure amounted to 33,000,000 dollars, against 15,500,000 dollars. The Mint had coined 29,000,000 dollars of bullion, but the new coins passed slowly into circulation.

CHAPTER XXX.

1873.

EUROPEAN CALENDAR SUBSTITUTED FOR JAPANESE ONE — SUMPTUARY DECREES — REMOVAL OF NOTICES PROSCRIBING CHRISTIANITY — FINANCE — RETRENCHMENT — EMPRESS RECEIVES LADIES — TREATY WITH CHINA — EMBASSY RETURNS FROM EUROPE — CONCLUSION.

§ 524. Decree announcing the adoption of the European Calendar. § 525. Brief account of the old Japanese Calendar, now superseded. § 526. Old chronological system of reckoning by cycles ceases. § 527. The Mikado holds levées, and invites his officers to dine. § 528. Edict instituting an order of merit for military and civil services. § 529. Emancipation of women from their degraded condition. § 530. Sumptuary decrees issued, altering toilets and coiffures. § 531. Discontent at the multiplicity of edicts on minor matters. § 532. Amusing story of a lady's objection to the hair-cutting law. § 533. Decrees affecting the Buddhist and Sintoo religions. § 534. Removal of the notice-boards proscribing Christianity. § 535. Release of the Christian converts in captivity. § 536. Riot in Etzizen on account of the new proclamations. § 537. Alarming *émeute* among the farmers in Tsikuzen. § 538. Material progress of Japan exceeding its financial resources. § 539. Reply of the Ministry to the Finance Minister's Memorial. 540. Statement of the revenue and expenditure for the current year. § 541. Retrenchment the order of the day, from the Mikado to the student. § 542. Native bankers ordered to withdraw their notes from circulation. § 543. Independence of the native Japanese press in Yedo. § 544. Account of a riot, translated from a native newspaper. § 545. Amusing report of an old marriage custom at Nagasaki. § 546. Reception of the American and Russian Ministers' wives by the Empress. § 547. Treaty between Japan and China ratified, and audience to Ambassador. § 548. Embassy to Europe makes a tour of the Continent, and returns to Japan. § 549. The last of the Siogoons in enforced retirement at Shidzuoka. § 550. Aspect of Japan in 1873, as compared with what it was in 1853.

§ 524. *Decree announcing the adoption of the European Calendar.*—These remarkable annals of "New Japan" have now reached the twentieth year from the commencement of this unvarnished record. As if the Government intended that its advent should be availed of in the historical inauguration of the new era that the nation had entered upon, in following the civilization of the *lands of the setting sun*, a proclamation was issued that henceforth the ancient calendar should be set aside,

and a new one adopted so as to accord with those of Western nations—Russia excepted. The following is a synopsis of this significant decree, to which the signature of the Mikado Mutsh'to was attached:—"In future the calendar shall be assimilated to that generally in use in Europe and America; the first day of the first month falling on the first day of January in each year, as calculated at the Observatory of Greenwich in England; and the first day of each subsequent month corresponding with the first days of the months in the European calendar. The date of the year, however, shall be reckoned from the accession of the first of the Mikados of this empire. The first of January, *Anno Domini* 1873, will, therefore, be known as the first day of the year 2333 of Japan.

§ 525. *Brief account of the old Japanese Calendar, now superseded.*—For the general reader to understand more fully the importance of this sweeping change in the computation of days, months, and years, by a nation of thirty-two millions of people, at the command of their sovereign, it is necessary to give a brief account of the ancient Japanese Calendar, based upon that of China, which still remains unchanged. The year was *luni-solar*, and consisted of twelve months, or "moons," commencing at each lunation: except when, by this mode of reckoning, the lunar time fell behind the solar time one whole revolution of the moon; then an "intercalary" month was added by the following rule:—If during any *lunar* month the sun does not enter any sign of the zodiac (that is, if there are two full moons in one sign), that month is intercalary, and the Japanese year consequently contained thirteen months. In this way the intercalated year contained 384 days, and the ordinary year 354—the first, third, fourth, eighth, and twelfth months having each 29 days, and the others 30. Besides these monthly divisions, depending upon the moon, the year was still further divided into twenty-four periods of about fifteen days each, the settlement of which depended on the time when the sun was in the first and fifteenth degree of any zodiacal sign. This division was also obtained from the Chinese, but the former was that in general use among the people. Then as to the reckoning of New Year's Day, this varied according to the commencement of the first moon's lunation, after twelve or thirteen had passed, but it always occurred some time in our month of February; so that by this decree it will for the future begin from a month to

six weeks earlier. Now, New Year's Day amongst the Japanese —as it is with the Chinese—is the greatest season of festivity in the year, when high and low, rich and poor, abandon business and the cares of life, for sometimes seven days of enjoyment. Not only was this the case, but amongst the trading classes it was their annual settling time, and for customers to pay their debts. Consequently this edict, which shortened their year by one month, caused some trouble and confusion; but by general consent a month's grace was allowed to debtors. Moreover, the people did not give up their customary holidays in February, accordingly when the New Year (old style) came round they held high festival for three days.

§ 526. *Old chronological system of reckoning by cycles ceases.*—Regarding that part of the decree fixing the chronology of the year from the accession of the first Mikado, it superseded a most complex system, which we have not space to demonstrate. Suffice it to say, that systems of cycles were employed, of which there were three, unconnected and concurrent:—The first, called *nengo*, was used for historical purposes, which was arbitrary in its length, according to any remarkable events; second, when the cycle was computed according to the reigns of the Mikados; and third, the astronomical cycle of sixty years. The second cycle was the one in general use; which the Siogoons also adopted, giving a name to their reign, as shown in the dates to their despatches, of which the following is an example:—"15th of 5th month, 1st year of *Kei-on* (June 8th, 1865). We are not in possession of the exact date according to the old calendar, when the new reckoning began, but it would be something like this,—27th day of the 11th month, 5th year of *Mei-jai* (January 1st, 1873). The new method of dating is January 1st, 2333." By adopting this chronological year of the Mikados, the national pride in the antiquity of their monarchical dynasties has been sustained, while it disarms the hostility of those opposed to the adoption of a calendar derived from Christian nations. Nevertheless the Government carried out their policy on this point, to the extent of reckoning by weeks, making Sunday a holiday at the public works and Government offices, together with the Mikado's birthday, and some other days to be fixed on hereafter. Of course, these holidays supersede all former religious and civil festivals, which were numerous, and thus add to official working days throughout the

year. So far as we can learn, this introduction of the Christian day of rest has been acceptable, especially to persons in public offices.

§ 527. *The Mikado holds levées, and invites his officers to dine.*—About the same time, other decrees were promulgated, reforming the legislature and executive. One relating to the latter commanded that "all ministers and officials in the Civil Service of this empire will, on and after the first day of the first month of the year 2333 wear European uniform, the designs for which are already prepared." It is needless to remark that this edict was agreeable to "Young-Japan," in Government offices, who strutted about in their gold and silver laced uniforms, just as our own dandies in uniform do. To add to this flattering regulation, these officials were commanded to attend weekly levées held by the Mikado, on and after the newly instituted *Jour de l'An*. His Majesty also, so far altered his mode of life, as to receive guests at dinner every day. The banquet was dressed and served in foreign style, and those invited were allowed to converse freely on all domestic or foreign topics, excepting what related to political matters. The young monarch was resolved not to disturb the equanimity of these entertainments by introducing, or allowing to be introduced, debatable subjects that could be more appropriately discussed elsewhere.

§ 528. *Edict instituting an order of merit for military and civil services.*—Another edict was published in the *Nishin Sinjishi*, or 'Government Gazette,' of a most acceptable character to both civil and military officers, of which the following is a brief translation:—"Whereas it is the custom of foreign monarchs to reward subjects who have rendered valuable civil or military service to their country and sovereign by conferring upon them badges of honourable distinction: an order of merit shall henceforth be instituted in the empire, which shall consist of two classes, one for military and the other for civil services of eminence. The first shall bear the inscription "For Valour," and the second "For Merit." In this decree the navy is not specified, but we may infer that valorous naval services will rank with those in the army. Still it seems a grave omission to ignore them in this decree; for, if we may judge of His Majesty's predilections, he has more regard for his sea than his land forces, and the sobriquet of the "sailor king" might be appropriately accorded him. As regards the formation of an

order of merit, he has instituted a noble precedent, and it remains to be seen whether there will be many recipients of the rewards for valour, among an aristocracy who have boasted so much of their warlike deeds.

§ 529. *Emancipation of women from their degraded condition.*—These decrees were followed up by a number of minor edicts, some of which were important, regarding improvements in the moral and social condition of the people, while others were of a puerile character, scarcely deserving the interference of the Government. The most important of those that would prove beneficial to the condition of womankind in Japan, was the abolition of an obnoxious law which legalized the sale of young women for immoral purposes. From henceforth none of them could be bought or sold, and the *Yoshiwarras*, or localities where these were under surveillance of the authorities, were broken up, and every female allowed to labour for her own profit, and not that of a master. Another decree, having the same object in view of raising woman from her degraded position, was to abolish the loose laws relating to marriages, which allowed of easy divorces of wives, from the most frivolous or false accusations. Hereafter the marriage tie is to be binding; and a measure may be brought in permitting foreigners to espouse legally the daughters of Japan.

§ 530. *Sumptuary decrees issued, altering toilets and coiffures.*—Other reforms did not stop at the social and moral relations of the sexes, but were supplemented by sumptuary laws regulating the modes of dress and toilet of both males and females. Formerly the class of women belonging to the "social-evil" institution—legalized in Japan—were obliged to wear gala dresses, after a particular fashion, sanctioned by the authorities, in order that they should be publicly known for what they were, and not assume the appearance of virtuous wives or daughters. This regulation was abolished, and a new decree issued that all females must dress alike, recommending European fashions to those who could afford to purchase new dresses; at the same time they were rather arbitrarily informed that they must henceforth dispense with female hairdressers, and do up their own hair. But the clause relating to the cut of the men's hair was even more stringent, making the regulation compulsory. Pictures of Japanese, belonging to all classes, have been published in Europe and America, showing

that every man, high and low, had the hair clean shaved off the top of his head, and the back hair twisted into a tight roll or knot brought forward on the crown of his cranium, while the ears were covered with ample bushes of glossy, black hair. There was no æsthetic elegance in the style, which suggested a knot of twist-tobacco more than anything else; and it is most probable that this ludicrous appearance of the heads of Japanese among foreigners caused its summary abolition. Henceforth they must cut off their top-knots—if not voluntarily, by the shears of the police—and wear their hair in European style. By way of consolation for the loss of their cherished queues, the men were told to devote a portion of the time saved in head-shaving and barber's fees to improve their education. Two engravings characteristic of the change appeared in 'The Illustrated London News' of November 8th, 1873.

§ 531. *Discontent at the multiplicity of edicts on minor matters.*—The sumptuary decrees were rapidly disseminated through the country, not only by means of the 'Gazette' and proclamations, but through the pages of the numerous Japanese newspapers that were springing up in all directions, and preparing the inhabitants in the interior for the various changes which the Mikado and his Administration were introducing. In these papers not much was said in commenting on the social reforms; but the foreign journalists averred that there was a very uneasy feeling abroad, both among foreigners and natives, consequent upon the multiplicity of edicts issued by the Government for the regulation of minor matters, which should be left to the sense and discretion of the people. It was calculated that these acts, which interfered with their old habits and prejudices, would make them detest the very mention of "progress in Western civilization," and would lead to outrages among the discontented elements of the population—a surmise which was subsequently verified, as will be presently shown. Meanwhile, it is appropriate in this place to relate an amusing story connected with the hair-cutting regulation, published in the 'Hiogo News,' of which we furnish a free version.

§ 532. *Amusing story of a lady's objection to the hair-cutting law.*—It would appear that the male portion of the community accepted cheerfully the new order to cut off the tuft at the top of the head, instead of suffering complete decapitation as formerly. Accordingly it gained ground rapidly in the old

metropolis (Miaco) of Kioto, especially among the officials, who allowed the hair to grow luxuriantly on their shaved scalps. But, strange to say, the new custom was obnoxious to some of their spouses and female relatives, if we may judge from the eccentric acts of a magistrate's wife belonging to the *Yamanashi Ken*, as follows:—The magistrate visited *Kofu* some time since, for the purpose of transacting business there. He was detained much longer than he had anticipated, and during his lengthened stay cultivated the growth of his hair according to European custom. Upon returning to his home, his wife was absent; but she shortly made her appearance, to welcome him back. Instead of rushing to embrace him, she stood amazed at the hirsute aspect of her husband's head. At first she burst forth into a peal of laughter at the strange comical appearance he presented, in her estimation. This gave way, however, to a hysterical fit of anger, and she broke into a torrent of abuse, which ended in a vow not to live with him any more. The lady then started for her brother's home, to seek shelter there; but great was her astonishment to find that he also had adopted the "barbarian" coiffure. Determined not to take up her abode where any man had, in her opinion, taken to such a foolish custom, she went to the residence of a venerable uncle, thinking that he would not abandon the time-honoured mode of shaving his head. To her disgust and indignation, she found that even he had allowed his grizzly hairs to grow after the foreign fashion. Here she was thoroughly perplexed, and, after grave consideration, resolved on confessing her grievances to a shaven-crowned Buddhist priest. This man sympathized with her, and gave her food and shelter in the temple, where both nuns and priests had hairless heads. However, after the expiration of a few days, the chief priest became alarmed lest her husband should have him punished for giving his wife shelter. He communicated his fears to the lady, who immediately left the monastery, and, from last accounts, became a wanderer through the streets. No doubt the anecdote is a gross exaggeration of some fact, at the same time it is illustrative of the effects caused by the new sumptuary laws.

§ 533. *Decrees affecting the Buddhist and Sintoo religions.*—Amongst the multifarious reformatory and prohibitory decrees and regulations published were several of grave importance, affecting religious institutions both native and foreign. Adopting

a cautious policy on these subjects, the Government refrained from direct action in interfering with the principles of any sect, or dealing theologically with their tenets. Whatever reforms they contemplated were indirectly begun by withdrawing pecuniary assistance from the treasury in support of the ecclesiastics and their establishments, holding that they should look to their devotees for such means. The first edict was passed against the Buddhist priesthood, amounting in fact to a separation between Church and State, as far as that religion was concerned. At the same time, it was announced that in future the law of celibacy was abolished; and priests would be permitted to marry, and to wear foreign clothes. Moreover, the tenets of their creed, which restricted them to vegetable and fish diet, would no longer be obligatory, and they could eat animal flesh if they chose. Similar privileges were granted to the Sintoo priesthood, belonging to the ancient national religion, while State aid was also withdrawn. However, they are to receive pecuniary benefits indirectly from the treasury in this way. During the feudal times many of the daimios, when in a state of impecuniosity, *borrowed* from the funds of the wealthy churches, which they did not repay up to the year of the revolution. On the Government taking over the liabilities of the daimios, these church claims were ignored; but now they have been admitted, and the claimants are to be allowed interest on the money advanced. Much has been reported regarding the establishment of a "new religion," amalgamating the priesthood of both these churches, but nothing authentic has transpired on this vital subject.

§ 534. *Removal of the notice-boards proscribing Christianity.*—With regard to the toleration of Christianity, the Government have, in an indirect manner, taken a step in the right direction. Hitherto in Yedo, Kioto, and all the principal cities and towns of Japan, notice-boards stood in the chief thoroughfares proscribing the Christian religion among the people under certain pains and penalties. When first erected in 1640, death and torture were the punishments for converts, but these had been modified in recent years. However, there the obnoxious modifications stood, up to the present year, notwithstanding all the treaties of amity and commerce entered into with Christian Powers. At last they have disappeared. But even now this has not been the result of a specific edict abrogating an obsolete law,

and tolerating Christianity throughout the realm. It so happened that there were several other notices on these proclamation-boards which the Government resolved should be expunged or withdrawn; so on the 24th of February a notice was published, ordering all the old public boards to be taken down. Intimation was previously given to the various foreign legations that the removal of the obnoxious decree was intended by removing all proclamations posted up by the Siogoons.

§ 535. *Release of the Christian converts in captivity.*—Shortly after the disappearance of the offensive notice-boards, the converts and their families kept in captivity were liberated and conveyed to their homes at the public expense. These zealous Christians were chiefly from Simabara, and the districts around Nagasaki, where the infamous martyrdom occurred before the expulsion of the Jesuits in the year above mentioned. Fifty-two from Kishiu arrived at Nagasaki on the 7th of April, eighty-seven from Bingo and Fukuyama on the 18th, and four hundred from Kaga during the remainder of the month, in groups of forty or fifty. A report was current to the effect that the Government had shown a marked inhumanity to the released converts while on their road from Kanga to Nagasaki, and that the Governor of Hiogo had refused assistance to the weary travellers returning to their homes, which it was his duty to afford. Much injustice was done by these reports about the Governor, as the people were in charge of a Kanga officer. But the news of their distress was communicated to the Government, and orders were at once transmitted from Yedo to provide them with relief and transport, before the remonstrances of the foreign legations had time to take their effect. Though these acts of toleration were steps in the right direction by the authorities, yet it was evident that a lingering hatred to the Christian religion still existed throughout the country among the classes discontented with the new order of things.

§ 536. *Riot in Etzizen on account of the new proclamations.*—As an instance of this, and also of objection generally to the edicts introducing foreign social, political, and religious reforms, a serious outbreak occurred in the territory of Etzizen, lying to the north of Kioto, shortly after the promulgation of the foregoing notification. It was reported in a native newspaper published at Yedo to the following effect: That a great band of country people, including a number of farmers, had united

together for hostile purposes, most of them armed with weapons, and advanced on the city of *Fullnoi*, where they presented an address to the authorities, demanding—1st. That the edicts against Christianity should not be rescinded, and that the Christian religion should not be tolerated. 2nd. That the Buddhist religion, priesthood, and temples, should not be interfered with, and that the Sintoo precepts should not be publicly taught. 3rd. They did not wish to change the calendar, to cut off their queues, or to have foreign education, books, or customs, introduced among them. While dealing temperately with the simple, misguided peasants, the authorities acted vigorously against the ringleaders, and made them prisoners. There was no doubt that the rioters were instigated to the outrage by some Buddhist priests, who found that their former power over the Government and people was rapidly passing away under the innovations of foreign civilization. Fears were at one time entertained for the safety of certain foreigners in Government employ in the city; but they were protected by the authorities, and the rioters dispersed.

§ 537. *Alarming émeute among the farmers in Tsikuzen.*—Other riots of a more formidable character happened after the above occurrence; the rioters having different grievances to complain of to the authorities, but all of them resulting from the transition state of the country. Of these the most alarming was an outbreak in the south, at Tsikuzen, Kokura, and other districts lying some sixty miles or so north of Nagasaki. The origin of the riot was attributed to a dispute which arose between the farmers near the town of Tsutzno, and the merchants connected with a company established there to regulate the export of produce and fix the quotations of prices. The agents of this guild telegraphed, by fires upon the hills at night, to their constituents the rates of rice, according to a secret code. This the superstitious farmers imagined would excite the anger of the rain-deity, and prevent the fall of rain, which was much wanted at the time for their crops. Accordingly, some fifteen hundred men in Fukuoka district went on the 16th of June to the members of this company, and asked them to desist from the fiery telegraph system. This they refused to do, whereupon the mob of agriculturists set to work and destroyed their houses and those of some fifty wealthy townsmen concerned in the business. Finding that the authorities did not check their

movements, the rioters increased next day to about four thousand, who destroyed fourteen houses in some villages adjacent. Then two Government officials arrived on the scene, accompanied by fifty soldiers, with a view to pacify them; but not succeeding, they scared the rioters by a volley of blank cartridge, who then fled. Instead of quelling the riot this only exasperated the rioters, whose numbers were increased between the 17th and 20th to about a hundred thousand men, mostly armed with bamboo-spears and swords. On the 21st they attacked the Governor of Fukuoka's house, and all the Government buildings, setting them on fire and killing the majority of the resident officials. A large body of troops then arrived from Kumamoto at the scene of the rebellion, the general commanding the infuriated mob to lay down their weapons and disperse to their homes. This the insurgents refused to do, except on the following conditions:—1st. A return to the old *Han*, or feudal district system, instead of the *Ken*, restoring to the daimios their lands and incomes. 2nd. That the officers of each district shall be appointed from among the inhabitants of the district. 3rd. That the incomes and property of the Samourai shall be returned. 4th. That the taxes shall be reduced by one-half for the space of three years. 5th. That the Government shall cease cutting down trees in the surrounding district. 6th. A return to the old Japanese Calendar. From this declaration it was seen that the instigators of the movement were formerly Samourai under the defunct *régime* of the Siogoon and daimios, many of whom were in desperate circumstances from want of employment in the new Government service. The Government dealt with these malcontents with a firm hand, but towards the misguided farmers they acted leniently, appointing an old feudal official as a mediator; and some of their demands, connected with taxation and the sale of rice, were complied with. But that which brought the peasantry to their senses was a copious downfall of rain, which refreshened their crops, and they yielded a good harvest, where a famine had been anticipated. On this head a correspondent of the 'North China Herald' writes as follows:—"A Japanese gave me, the other day, a very plausible reason for the delay in the usual wet season of the year. 'Our rice was planted this year according to the custom of expecting rains in the sixth month, but the people must have forgotten that. If the Japanese Calendar

had been preserved, there would have been thirteen months in this year—it being intercalary year. Therefore, a month's delay in the rains is no fault of the gods, but only of our Government, who have adopted a wrong calendar.'"

§ 538. *Material progress of Japan exceeding its financial resources.*—During these numerous and multifarious reforms, they created important financial changes in the revenue and expenditure of the Government, which taxed the ways and means of the treasury to their utmost limits, and caused the Finance Minister and his Under-Secretary to resign their posts. At first the Mikado's Government were very sanguine about the monetary resources of the country, once they had their new system of taxation in operation, and made arrangements for borrowing money at home and abroad. On the presumption that these resources were next to being inexhaustible, they launched rather recklessly into establishing extensive and costly departments of the State; the maintenance in foreign countries of legations, consulates, and student *employés*; the reconstruction of the army and navy, and the construction of public works. It is true that these were more or less necessary to put the country on a footing with the Western nations they had followed as models. But their ambition got the better of their means, and they found themselves at length in a state of impecuniosity. Enoyè Bunda and his financial colleague Shibusawa stated in a letter, "the progress of the country surpasses the speed of the racehorse; but it is more of the Government than the people. The Government is impatient, and by heavy taxation, consequent on the hasty adoption of new schemes, will plunge the country into financial difficulty." They estimated the national debt of Japan up to May, 1873, to be equivalent to thirty and a half millions sterling, subject to heavy interest, which they did not see their way to meet, unless there was a considerable retrenchment in the expenditure. Under these circumstances, they tendered their resignation to the Government; which was accepted, with the proviso that they should hold nominal posts, so as to aid the Administration in carrying out any financial reforms through their successors. These were Mutsu Munémitsu and others acting under a Finance Commission; while Okuma was appointed Chief Commissioner of the Treasury.

§ 539. *Reply of the Ministry to the Finance Minister's me-*

morial.—The Government deemed the statements in the memorial of such grave importance as to publish an official reply, of which the following is a translation given by the 'Japan Mail':—"Although the views brought forward in your memorial are proper in the points enumerated and the facts hinted at, there are considerable contradictions to the actual truth. As far as the remarks about the necessity of taking as an aim the accordance of the theory of Government with the capacity of the people are concerned, they are not to be gainsaid; and as His Majesty has lately decreed reformations in the regulations under which the Council of State is conducted, you may relieve yourselves of anxiety on that point. As to your statement that a rough calculation of the expenditure and income for the year shows a deficit of ten million *yen* (2,166,666*l.*), this result was obtained by calculating the value of the *koku* of rice to be 2 *yen*, 75 *sen* (11*s.* 9*d.*) Part of this has been incurred in preceding years; part consists of extraordinary expenses, such as those connected with the conversion of *han* into *ken*; another part consists of occasional expenditure, and which is not expected to recur every year. Moreover, you state that the liabilities of the Government amount to 140 million *yen* (30,555,555*l.*). There are many serious errors in this calculation, neither is there an annual deficit of 10 millions, or such an enormous debt."

§ 540. *Statement of the revenue and expenditure for the current year*.—Shortly afterwards the Government published a more explicit statement of the revenue, expenditure, and national debt, which gave a very different complexion to the financial position of the realm than that stated by the memorialists. The chief sources of revenue are the taxes upon land and its produce, which are estimated for the current year at a moderate calculation to yield in round numbers forty million *yen*; and from customs duties and other subsidiary sources eight millions, making an aggregate amount equivalent to ten millions four hundred thousand pounds sterling (10,400,000*l.*). The principal item of expenditure is 12,750,000 *yen*, for pensions or incomes to the ex-daimios, who transferred their territories to the Mikado. Then come His Majesty's privy purse for the maintenance of his Court, the various civil departments, the military, the navy, and subordinate branches of the public service, amounting to 33,250,000 *yen*. These two sums added

together make a total of forty-six millions for expenditure, as against forty-eight millions of revenue, leaving a surplus of two millions, equivalent to 433,333*l.* As to the national debt, internal and external, the details were not given, but a statement was appended, holding that it was considerably below the amount named by the ex-Finance Ministers. At an approximate calculation from other sources, published previous to this, it would appear that they were not far out in their estimates of the Government liabilities. These set down the total at upwards of twenty-five millions sterling, including the million borrowed from foreigners in 1870 for the construction of railways, at nine per cent. interest. To this falls now to be added a new loan of two and a half millions sterling, raised on the London Stock Exchange at seven per cent., making a total of twenty-seven and a half millions. Of this one-half at least is represented by a paper currency circulating in Japan, denominated *kinsat*, something like Exchequer-bills, and printed in Germany. About ten millions are due to Japanese subjects for loans obtained by local authorities, and claims of foreigners upon the defunct Government. These statistics are not altogether reliable, but the new Finance Minister promises to publish a budget after the European model, and correct in its estimates and returns.

§ 541. *Retrenchment the order of the day, from the Mikado to the student.*—Meanwhile the effect of this *exposé* of Japanese finance by a bold functionary and his colleague has produced a policy of retrenchment, from which we infer that, after a careful examination of their ways and means, it was found that their statements were based upon facts. The first to set an example was the Mikado himself. It so happened, about this time, that the greater part of His Majesty's palace in Yedo Citadel was destroyed by fire, and according to precedent it should be restored at the expense of the State, assisted by contributions from the wealthy inhabitants of the metropolis. Many of the latter came forward at once to tender their loyal tribute. Not only did he decline these, but he issued the following decree:—"I have lately met with the disaster of having my palace burnt by fire. At this time the Government has many expenses; and considering this I do not wish to oppress the people by rebuilding my palace immediately." Moreover, he introduced greater economy into his household, and Her Majesty joined heartily in

all efforts of this kind. With such noble examples before them, the Government and functionaries of all departments reduced the expenditure and numbers of *employés*. This policy of retrenchment was even carried out among the Japanese officials and students abroad, maintained at the expense of their country. Of the latter it was stated that about six hundred were attending the educational institutions in Europe and America. An order of recall was said to be issued for them to return to Japan; but it was afterwards modified, and only those who had completed their studies, or did not evince that progress in them which was expected, were required to comply with the decree. Those, of course, who were willing to remain at their own expense, or that of their relatives, were allowed to do so, and become eligible for office after passing their *curriculum*.

§ 542. *Native bankers ordered to withdraw their notes from circulation.*—From time immemorial the Japanese have had a banking system for the issue of notes; but, curious to say, while the old Governments were very rigid in their regulations on commerce, they left the circulation of paper money by bankers unrestricted. Probably this was on account of the feudal daimios, great and small, doing the same thing; and the Siogoon's Government could not easily interpose restrictions, which would affect all alike—including their own *kinsat* circulation. However, the Mikado's Government on taking over a transfer of these public obligations called in, and were gradually redeeming the former, by a new issue of the latter, to the extent of three millions of rios, equal to 675,000*l*. About the same time the attention of the Finance Minister was drawn to the irregular issue of *Te-Gata*, or private bank-notes, by the failure of two petty bankers at Nagasaki, whereby many poor people suffered loss. Immediately a notification was published prohibiting the issue of such notes for the future, without the authorization of the treasury; and, until such time as some system of control could be established, the whole were ordered out of circulation. Most of them were soon afterwards retired by the firms who had issued them; but, in order to insure their complete withdrawal, the public were informed that should any be produced as claims upon a bankrupt estate, ordinary debts without security would take precedence and be satisfied before this old paper could rank as a claim. In view of the Government legalizing banks to issue notes, a company of thirteen

bankers was formed at Nagasaki, five to take responsible posts in the departments each was best qualified to act in. The capital at their command was equivalent to about two hundred thousand pounds, one-third of which was called up for immediate use, on obtaining the Government sanction.

§ 543. *Independence of the native Japanese press in Yedo.*—While restrictions were thus being exercised over the circulation of bankers' paper money, nothing so stringent regulated the issue of newspapers. These, it has been stated, sprung up with a rapidity, especially in Yedo, which was the more marvellous, that it defied the old censorship of prohibition under most sanguinary pains and penalties. It is true that the Government, through their own 'Gazette,' published an order that no newspaper should comment beforehand on contemplated reforms. Some idea of the independent attitude taken by these new journals may be inferred from the following translation of an extract on the subject in the *Nishin Shinjishi*:—"The Government has decreed that newspapers shall not comment on contemplated reforms, until such time as they become law. This order applies chiefly to the political attitude of Government towards foreign nations, and to prevent obstructions in their intercourse with foreigners. We do not ask for a repeal of this proclamation; for even in many European countries freedom of the press is not tolerated. Still, we fail to see how commenting on subjects under discussion by the Government embarrasses them in their action." Again, in the 'Minato Shimboon' the editor understands the functions of the press, and can stand upon his dignity when it is assailed, so he writes in reply to some adverse comment,* that, "newspapers are published chiefly to keep the public posted up in the doings of the Government, also for information on all foreign topics of interest. By the exchange of papers between countries, each is aware of the internal affairs of the other. Consequently, it (the press) is the great instructor of the people, and most powerful agent in the world. The combined action of newspapers is sufficient even to shape the policy of a Government."

§ 544. *Account of a riot, translated from a native newspaper.*—News is given in these journals, political and social, without fear of the authorities suppressing them or punishing the writers.

* 'North China Herald.'

The 'Kioto Shimboon,' for instance, contained a frank account of a riot in the district of Ashibaken, as follows:—"The bell was rung, and many farmers crowded around the courthouse. The officials demanded an explanation of their conduct; but, without heeding the officers, the mob commenced to demolish the courthouse. An officer, who arrested the conspirators, drew his sword, but one of the crowd immediately ran him through with a spear. The remaining officers fled. The courthouse was set on fire. The Government officials sought refuge in an eating-house, where they were followed by the mob, who demanded that the master of the house should give them up. This he refused to do. The mob immediately destroyed his home, besides damaging adjoining property. From the roof of a house an officer appealed to them, and promised the mob he would represent any grievance they might have, and, furthermore stated that the arrested farmers had been liberated. The crowd by this time had lost a great deal of their courage, and stated their grievances, which was a demand to prohibit the introduction of Christianity and the reading of European books in the village schools. Nashikawa, the officer, then said: 'I will go to the Governor and lay your request before him, and if he does not accede, then to show my regret for not having satisfied your demands, as I have promised I will commit suicide.' He then started on horseback to the Governor's residence. When about four miles on the road, he met the Vice-Governor, with whom he returned to Omo. The Vice-Governor called the farmers together in the courtyard of a large temple, and gave them to understand that their request was granted."

§ 545. *Amusing report of an old marriage custom at Nagasaki.*—Among the reports of social occurrences, the writers in these newspapers sometimes displayed a quiet vein of humour, equal to anything written by our own facetious reporters, as will be seen in the following extract from the 'Nichi nichi Shimboon':—"An old custom in Nagasaki, called *katzuki*—not much practised now—has often terminated in a most unexpected manner. When a young man wished to marry a girl, he called his most intimate friends together, and requested them to do the Katsuki. The young men had to waylay the unsuspecting maiden in some lonely place, and carry her by force to her lover's house. She was then compelled to shave her eyebrows

and blacken her teeth. Husbands do declare that compulsion was unnecessary. Very probably the young lady had an inkling of the trick about to be played. When parents heard of the fate of their daughters, they gave way to violent fits of grief, and were only soothed by the solicitations of compassionate friends. This custom is seldom practised now, except by some of the lower classes. An exception has lately occurred. A merchant made known his wishes to his friends. The lady was caught at dusk and hurried to his house, her teeth blackened and eyebrows shaved. But Mr. M—— eventually found that he had married his sweetheart's eldest sister, the greatest scold in the good city of Nagasaki. We have not heard if her parents gave way to uncontrolled lamentations, but we opine not." This hideous custom among Japanese women of blackening their teeth, and shaving their eyebrows on being married, or reaching a marriageable age, is likely to die out, or become abolished; for the Empress has set the example of innovating upon the old fashion, dictated by Japanese jealousy, and henceforth her teeth and eyebrows will be allowed to remain as nature formed them. It is to be hoped that the Japanese women will in this instance admit that the Court is the proper fount from which fashions ought to spring.

§ 546. *Reception of the American and Russian Ministers' wives by the Empress.*—Her Majesty has likewise taken a step in the right direction, as done by her husband, of granting an audience to foreign ladies. The first who were honoured by a royal reception were Mrs. De Long, wife of the American Minister, and Madame Butzow, wife of the Russian Minister. They were both accompanied by their husbands, and the Mikado sat beside his consort on the occasion. The following graphic account of the reception was written by Mrs. De Long to a friend in the United States:—"We were received by high Japanese officials; after which we were conducted through corridors innumerable—heavily carpeted, so as to exclude sound—by a body-guard, to a room at the extremity of the palace, where we were welcomed by Soyeshima, Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of the Household, and the grand Chamberlain. Shortly, two ladies of honour, dressed beautifully, entered, and after being presented, informed us that the Mikado and Empress were in readiness to receive us. The ladies of honour preceded us to the throne-room; we being escorted by the Court Interpreter, followed by

the officers of the Royal household. We found the Emperor and Empress standing to receive us; which honour we were hardly prepared for, and which might have overwhelmed us, if we had not remembered that we were Americans—representatives of a nation second to none. After being—through the interpreter—presented, the royal couple shook hands with us most graciously, when they seated themselves, and signified to us that we should follow suit, side screens having been pushed lightly on one side, and arm-chairs of crimson and blue brocatelle, wheeled into the apartment and placed at our disposal. The Emperor was attired in a rich purple silk, with overdress of white, and large flowing sleeves. His consort was attired in a dress of heavy brown silk, with overdress of crimson wrought with gold. On a line with our party were seven maids of honour, all attired in crimson silk, though not so elegant and elaborate as that of the Empress. The latter had her hair dressed very tastefully—puffed at the side, drawn back from the forehead, and low, while stiff at the ends and fastened with ribbons. The sleeves of the overdress were wide and full, and reached nearly to the floor. Her face was white with powder; her lips vermilion with paint; eyebrows not to be seen, having been shaved off, while the teeth were blackened to the utmost.* The room was handsomely covered with rich carpet of foreign manufacture, but had little in the way of furniture. The Emperor thanked Mr. De Long for his kindness to the Japanese Embassy while with them abroad, and furthermore expressed himself as greatly indebted to the American people generally, for their uniform kindness and courtesy to the Embassy while in America. The Empress kindly inquired after the welfare of my family, and hoped, upon a future occasion, I would bring my little daughter with me. I made some remarks concerning the importance of the event, making it a day and occasion long to be remembered, and which, in America, our ladies would hail with joy; and hoped they never would have cause to regret the kindly feeling which prompted them toward a social interchange of interest between this and foreign nations. The ceremony was remarkable for its extreme informality, and lasted about thirty minutes, when Soyeshima gave the signal for departure, which we were not loth to act upon. As we rose,

* This was before Her Majesty had discarded the old fashions.

the Emperor and Empress again cordially shook us by the hands, and we retreated in Court style; two pretty little Japanese girls carrying our trains after the most approved manner, though this was their first experience in such matters. Our own servants not being admitted, the Foreign Minister was notified when we arrived that we should need such assistance, and he attended to the matter admirably."

§ 547. *Treaty between Japan and China ratified, and audience to Ambassador.*—Soyeshima, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who conducted matters so successfully at the reception, proved himself during this year even more skilful as a diplomatist, in obtaining an audience of the Emperor of China, as Ambassador of the Mikado. A treaty of amity and commerce having been concluded between China and Japan, upon terms as independent as any with the Western Powers, the time had arrived for its ratification and the Minister Plenipotentiary to obtain an audience of the young Emperor, Tung Chi, who had just ascended the throne after a regency of twelve years. Soyeshima and Lee Hung Chang exchanged the ratified treaty at Tientsin on the 30th of April with imposing ceremonies. He had arrived with an iron-clad frigate and a steam corvette, having on board the members of the Japanese Legation to be resident at Peking. The appearance of these men-of-war, together with a knowledge of what Japan had achieved in telegraphic and railway enterprise, caused the Chinese high officials to treat their island neighbours with special consideration. It was clear that the revolution and progress in Japan had elevated that country in the consideration of these statesmen. A week later found the Legation, consisting of a dozen officers and above a score of servants, comfortably located at Peking in a large temple that is frequently employed for public purposes. At this time there were five members of the foreign Diplomatic Corps resident at the capital, who were all waiting anxiously for audiences of the Emperor, which the Chinese diplomatists, with their usual tergiversation, delayed from time to time upon the most puerile pretexts. When the Japanese ambassador arrived on the same errand, in the highest diplomatic capacity, these Ministers who all ranked below him on that scale refused to recognize him as a colleague. Nevertheless, Soyeshima maintained his dignity as Minister of Foreign Affairs in Japan, and special representative of his august master the Mikado at the Court of Peking.

On the 15th of May he placed himself in communication with the *Tsung-le-Yamen*, or Foreign Office Board, inquiring when His Imperial Majesty would be pleased to receive him. He was assured in reply that an early audience would be accorded, suited to his rank. Then began evasive negotiations as to the etiquette required at the audience, so that he should kneel before the Emperor, and perform the *ko-tow*, by slavishly bowing five times in that degrading position. To these propositions he replied in firm language, saying that the proper custom among monarchs when they accredited ambassadors to each other, required that they should be received as friends and not as servants. Seeing the firm attitude of Soyeshima, an edict was issued on June the 10th, making known the concession of a private audience being accorded to him, but no day was fixed for his reception. Delay was again resorted to, until he informed the board that he would leave Peking forthwith and all the members of the Japanese Legation, thereby leading to a rupture between China and Japan. This had the desired effect, and Wen Siang, President of the Board, called at the Embassy, stating that he would be received on the 29th in special audience, and *that before any of the foreign resident Ministers would be received.* This precedence produced his official recognition by the Diplomatic Body three days before the audience. On the day named he presented himself at the palace, attired in the costume formed on European Court style, a sword being a necessary appendage. He was duly presented to the young Emperor, who sat upon a dais cross-legged, to whom he made three ordinary bows like those to a sovereign, read his brief letter from the Mikado, to which a short reply was given, and then he retired.* Afterwards the Envoys of Russia, America, Great Britain, France, and Holland, were admitted in a body, and went through the same ceremony. Thus was this vexed question settled, and that not a little through the astute diplomacy of His Excellency Soyeshima.

§ 518. *Embassy to Europe makes a tour of the Continent, and returns to Japan.*—During all this time Iwakura, his colleagues and suite of the Japanese Embassy were making a successful diplomatic tour on the continent of Europe; and, after six months' arduous inquiry and examination into the institutions of

* 'North China Herald,' July 19th, 1873.

the nations they visited, took their departure for Japan, where at last accounts they had safely arrived. These brief annals preclude entering into any further particulars than those already given of this most comprehensive mission. Suffice it to say, that on the Continent, as in America and Great Britain, the labours of its members were not confined to diplomacy—indeed that was the least of their functions—but to investigate the leading, legal, social, and political institutions of European nations, together with their material resources, in order that by introducing them into Japan the nation might emulate their power and prosperity. In their progress they visited France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Russia, Austria, Italy, and Switzerland; and these added to the United States and the United Kingdom, previously visited, make ten Treaty Powers who have legations and consulates in Japan, and whose countries they examined during one year and six months—the most complete and arduous embassy on record, made doubly and trebly so in its results by the facilities of modern travel. They arrived at Yokohama on the 13th of September, after an absence of one year eight months and sixteen days. Sir Harry Parkes had resumed his post as British Minister at Yedo six months previously, and in conjunction with his colleagues had taken the first step towards the revision of the treaties. A joint memorandum was addressed to the Japanese Government, stating that they were instructed to resist any attempt that might be made to excise the extra territoriality clauses, namely, those which secure to foreigners the protection of their own laws, administered by their own officials, and make residents amenable to Japanese laws.

§ 549. *The last of the Siogoons in enforced retirement at Shidzuoka.*—These annals would be incomplete if no account were given of some of the most prominent personages who figured in the earlier scenes of this extraordinary national drama, and who still survive the sanguinary conflict to witness the success of a pacific foreign policy. Foremost among these is the last of the Siogoons, the Stots-Bashi Yoshi Hisa, styled Kubo-Sama, of the powerful Tokugawa clan. When he was deposed all these high-sounding titles were obliterated from his escutcheon, and he was condemned to live in enforced retirement, under his personal name of Keki. The place of his residence is in the town of Shidzuoka, *ken* of Tsuruga, a north-western district of

Nip-pon Island. Here he lives *en parole*, in the most quiet and retired manner, but with complete personal freedom to move about the town and suburbs. When he occasionally rides out, the people reverently bow their heads as he passes along; but he discreetly avoids the slightest appearance of ostentation, which might be construed into political motives. At the same time he still dispenses gifts to the temples, and recently presented to one in Shidzuoka (where he was confined for a short time) an elaborately inscribed bell of exquisite tone. Though only a private citizen, yet he enjoys all the comforts of life, and employs his time in intellectual culture. His house is not only fitted up in the most approved Japanese style, but contains many choice articles of foreign furnishings. Here he declines to see any visitors but those connected with his own family, and politely refused the advances of some foreigners desirous of an introduction. Being in the prime of life, he employs his time in cultivating the arts of poetry and painting, for which he has a predilection. Though an able man when in power, yet he was never bold or ambitious in the political sphere; so he has probably fallen into that line of life which agrees best with his intellectual temperament, and, doubtless, for his personal happiness.

§ 550. *Aspect of Japan in* 1873, *as compared with what it was in* 1853.—In conclusion. Now that these historical records of 'New Japan' have passed the twentieth year from their commencement, it becomes an appropriate occasion to glance at the present aspect of the country, its inhabitants, institutions, and Government, as compared with its condition briefly described in the first chapter. At that time all was mystery, uncertainty, and error concerning these picturesque, fertile, and thickly populated islands in Eastern Asia. The veil of obscurity has since been uplifted, and we now see the rulers with the light of Western civilization in hand, dispelling their ancient, oriental, inscrutable darkness. The barriers of exclusiveness have been broken down, and many of the finest harbours on their iron-bound coasts are open to the ships of Foreign Powers; the legitimate monarch has thrown aside the Imperial purple of seclusion, and with his dynasty has entered the comity of nations; the feudal system and its sanguinary domineering oligarchy have been swept away, and constitutional Government on a foreign basis placed in its stead; the hated foreigners, their commerce and religion

are no longer debarred from the body politic, and many of them are in the employment of the State; the sea and land forces have attained a strength and perfection, after foreign models, that will render the nation stronger in warfare than any other in the Far East; where formerly the shores bristled with dangers to navigation, these have been buoyed, and lighthouses of the first order warn the mariner of them by night; where twenty years ago the commerce with Europe was restricted to a Dutch trading company of a limited arbitrary character, under humiliating conditions, at one semi-prison factory, the merchants and ships of all friendly nations are allowed free pratique at six treaty ports; where no foreign diplomatist could take up his residence in the country, the representatives of twelve Treaty Powers have their legations and consulates at the capital and foreign settlements; where the highway of Yedo was a way of death to the foreigner, he can now ride in a railway carriage in safety, with the whistle of the locomotive awakening up the echoes of the bay; and, finally, he can communicate by electric telegraph from port to port, until it reaches Europe, through the great eastern submarine cable system, in fifty hours. Thus, in one short generation the Japanese have achieved a position in the civilized world that the foremost nations of Europe took centuries to accomplish; and now their national cry in the peaceful path of progress is "Forward! Onward! NEW JAPAN; the Land of the Rising Sun!"

THE END.

LONDON: PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.


JAPAN
NIPPON
PACIFIC OCEAN


00035630

gitized with financial assistance from
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018